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THE BUKIDNON OF MINDANAO

FAY-COOPER COLE

FIELDIANA: ANTHROPOLOGY

VOLUME 46

Published by

CHICAGO NATURAL HISTORY MUSEUM

APRIL 23, 1956

FIELDIANA: ANTHROPOLOGY

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THE BUKIDNON OF MINDANAO

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Preface

The material presented in this volume was gathered in the first seven months of 1910, while I conducted the R. F. Cummings Philippine Expedition for Field Museum of Natural History (now Chicago Natural History Museum). During that period a detailed study was made of the everyday life, customs and beliefs of the Bukidnon of north-central Mindanao in the Philippines, and collections were made to illustrate that life in the Museum.

These people usually refer to themselves as Higaónan, "mountain dwellers," but they are better known as Bukidnon, a name applied to the mountain people by the coastal Bisayan. This latter appellation has caused some confusion in the literature, since it also is applied by the coastal dwellers to the interior peoples of Negros, Nueva Ecija and Panay. Spanish writers often used this term, or Monteses, for all highlanders (Mozo, 1763).

As this study was approaching completion, a situation was developing in the Davao Gulf region of Southern Mindanao which made an immediate transfer to that area seem imperative. Several months were spent in that district before a tropical illness necessitated my return to America. A slow recovery, installation of the Philippine collections, publication of the Davao Gulf material (Cole, 1913), and other duties led to the putting aside of the Bukidnon material for later publication. Before that time arrived World War I intervened. Later I returned to Malaysia to conduct studies in Indonesia and The Malay States. In 1924 I became associated with the University of Chicago, and my Mindanao materials remained, for the most part, unpublished except for a brief summary (Cole, 1945b).

I had hoped that upon retirement I might return to the Bukidnon and develop an acculturation study based on my early work. Unsettled conditions after World War II made the accomplishment of the task so uncertain that it has not been undertaken. However, the Rev. Ralph Lynch, S.J., has recently dealt with some of the changes in Bukidnon between my stay and 1950 (see Lynch, 1955).

At the time of my visit to the Bukidnon, the American government was constructing good trails into the interior, was forcing the natives into model villages, and was supplying them with plows and other facilities for farm-

ing the grasslands. New crops were being introduced, schools were being opened, and new ideas of government were being urged on the people. Change was rapid in the area under control and was considerable in the peripheral districts. It was evident that this was the last opportunity to see these people in anything like the old life; or to make a representative collection.

Certain trends were even then evident. The newly established villages were, for the most part, replicas of the less advanced settlements of the Christianized Bisayan of the coast. The *datos*, or local headmen, were being replaced by "elected" village officials, and in some towns the dress was changing towards that of the civilized peoples.

Peripheral settlements, not under direct control, were also affected, but here two lines of resistance were becoming apparent. The distinctive dress of both men and women was being elaborated, and no small part of the "wealth" was being spent for cloth and ornaments. A second line of withdrawal into the old ways was in religion. The aggressive intervention in daily affairs by the American governor—Frederick Lewis—was weakening the political leadership of the *datos* or local headmen. Meanwhile the importance of the *baylans* or mediums was increasing. The ceremonies, which the mediums conducted, were assuming increasing importance to the extent that they dominated the social and religious life. As other aspects of the old life weakened, interest in the spirit world increased.

Following the time of my visit, the Bukidnon Company, under the leadership of former Commissioner Dean C. Worcester, established cattle holdings in the area. Later the Del Monte Company introduced pineapple culture, and with the advent of World War II the Japanese took control. Since the war there has been a steady migration of coastal peoples into the area, as well as settlers from other regions of the Philippines.

It is evident that the old life is largely gone. A few marginal settlements retain part of the former customs, but only a part. Given the background, the surviving Bukidnon should offer ideal material for an acculturation study. It seems unlikely that I shall make that investigation, but I can furnish rather an intimate picture of what the Bukidnon were in 1910 before the many disruptive forces mentioned came into play.

The material which follows is primarily descriptive. It is drawn from notes long "cold," and is devoid of many lines of investigation which might be employed today. Nevertheless it is a rather full description of a functioning native culture.

The procedure in the investigation was for us—the writer and his wife—to settle in a community for several weeks, during which we sought to participate in, and to observe and record, the daily life. Securing the Museum collection was a major help, since each object was discussed in

detail with the owner. If it was a trap or lure we saw it in actual operation; if it was an instrument employed in agriculture, weaving and the like, we observed and photographed its use. Details of dress were studied and household objects were recorded as used. Many hours of animated discussion dealt with the relative value of different kinds of traps and snares. We hunted with the men, using only their devices, and later they went with us while we demonstrated the use of guns. As friendships and confidences were built up, we were invited and took part in all activities, including the ceremonies. These were carefully recorded and photographed and the meaning of various parts was discussed with several participants.

Subjects such as religion, warfare, slavery, and family relations were taken up, first with the leaders and then with the average person. In all cases, even in regard to items which seemed trivial and trite, information was sought from more than one individual in each village. Village was checked against village and discrepancies were studied and evaluated. It is our belief that this volume furnishes as reliable a picture of native life as was possible for an outsider to obtain in a few months.

In passing it should be noted that we contributed considerably to the pleasures of the people. Our phonograph and the records we made of their songs were major attractions. Our pneumatic mattresses were so fascinating that they often had to be demonstrated to wondering visitors. Our food and ways of eating, our dress—in fact, all our strange ways—were as intriguing to them as theirs were to us. Our medicine kit was an additional aid in establishing cordial relations. We never allowed it to take the place of curative ceremonies but we added its magic to that of the mediums. The success of an investigator in a functioning culture, it is our belief, will be in direct ratio to the extent he participates in the daily life.

Beyer (1917, p. 42) and others have stated that the Bukidnon culture is probably similar to that of the pre-Spanish Bisayan. Outside contact had considerably modified the life and beliefs of the latter long prior to the Spanish invasion. Such influences had filtered into the interior but in much lesser amount. Later Spanish influence is evident even in remote settlements.

The dialects spoken by Christians and pagans appear to be very similar. Recent linguistic studies and surveys of Bukidnon Province tend to treat all the dialects found there as variants of Manobo. Atherton calls the dialect of Northern and Central Bukidnon by the term Binokid (Atherton, 1953). Abrams and Svelmoe (1953) say that the dialect spoken at Lum-bayo, just east of Mailag, is Binokid, but that of nearby Tigwa is similar to Manobo.

With two exceptions the method used in transcribing native terms is that used by American linguists for Indian languages. When a capital E

appears in the body of the word it stands for c^u ; the symbol \tilde{n} is a post palatal nasal n.

Except for collecting representative word lists, we did not attempt a study of the language during our stay. However, a Bisayan student from Misamis, who accompanied us part of the time, insisted that the Bukidnon dialects were very close to the language spoken on the North Coast.

Aside from instances of physical mixture with peripheral tribes, the Bukidnon closely approximate the Christianized people. It is probable that in many respects the Bukidnon do furnish us with a glimpse of old time beliefs and customs which have, for the most part, vanished from the coast.

The narrative is written in the present tense, but unless otherwise indicated, it refers to conditions existing in 1910.

I am indebted to Father Frank Lynch, S.J., for various comments on the Bukidnon and their history. George Talbot prepared the drawings for the text figures, and Phillip H. Lewis made the map.

FAY-COOPER COLE

SANTA BARBARA, CALIFORNIA

May 30, 1954

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I. The Country and the People

The Province of Bukidnon lies in the north-central portion of Mindanao. For the most part it consists of a high plain which rises abruptly to a height of about 900 feet, just back of the coast of Cagayan, Misamis, now known as Cagayan de Oro, Misamis Oriental. On the east a forested mountain chain separates it from the broad valley of the Agusan River. These mountains run from north to south until, as they approach the southern end of the province, they turn toward the southwest to form the northern limits of the Province of Davao. Some high mountains appear there, but between them are low passes which afford access to the Gulf of Davao. On the west of Bukidnon another range runs north and south, forming the boundary with the Mohammedan-dominated Province of Lanao (see map, fig. 1).

These mountain chains have afforded some protection from the more warlike tribes to the east and south, as well as from the Moros. However, passes have allowed hostile raids in search of victims and slaves, while from time to time, renegade bands from Lake Lanao have taken refuge here. All have left their imprint, especially in the peripheral areas.

From a distance Bukidnon appears to be a high, broad, unbroken plain which rises gently toward the mountains. Actually its surface is cut by many deep and narrow north and south canyons with precipitous walls enclosing rushing streams. In places these canyons widen into valleys of some size, but the dominating feature is the great grass plain cut by deep gorges (figs. 2 and 3).

At one season the young cogon grass covers the tableland like a lawn. Later, when the rank grass has reached its full height, it is crested with white bloom. The natives with their simple tools are no match for the sturdy grass, so the lands, for the most part, have been left undisturbed save by wild pig and deer.

The province is cut nearly in half by the eighth parallel, which also serves roughly as the water divide. The Pulangi River and its tributaries start somewhat north of the line and flow to the south, but all other water courses flow north. The Pulangi—lower down known as the Rio Grande de Mindanao—is suitable for rafts throughout the area, but the only other

river of any considerable size, the Cagayan, has many rocky rapids which limit its use for travel.

The abrupt escarpment which borders*the coast, poor trails, lack of bridges over the many turbulent streams in the gorges, all have served to keep the territory from being over-run by the Bisayan of Misamis but have not been a protection against exploitation of the pagan Bukidnon by the Christians.

At the time of the governorship of Don Narciso Claveria (1844-49) settlements existed in the vicinity of Mount Balatocan, Cagayan Valley, and the Plateau. Many of these were short-lived but some fifteen towns of the Tagoloan Valley and Plateau districts were still flourishing in 1887 (Cartas, 1881, vol. 4, pp. 82-83; 1889, vol. 8, pp. 412-417; Pastells, 1916, vol. 2, pp. 140-141).

During the 1880's Jesuit missionaries made numerous trips into the interior and by the end of the decade were conducting a vigorous program of resettlement and Christianization. They found the grass plains mostly unsettled, while the people lived in scattered isolated villages along the edge of the forest or in small settlements bordering the water courses. Every inducement was used to persuade the people to establish towns on the plain. There they were assisted in building houses similar to those on the coast; they were supplied with some tools and were taught the cultivation of coffee, cacao, corn and hemp. Churches were established and so successful were the Jesuits that by 1893 they were able to report 6,600 converts out of a population estimated at 13,000 (Blair and Robertson, 1903-9, vol. 43, pp. 23, 27, 203, 209, 277, 289). The evident advantages of the more settled life led some of those who had refused the protection of the Church to establish compact villages on the periphery of the plain. However, nearly every family still kept its hillside clearing and at times the villages were nearly deserted.

Ultimately a surplus of coffee, hemp and cacao led to increased trade with the Bisayan city of Cagayan on the coast, and for a time it appeared that the efforts of the Jesuits were resulting in the establishment of a self-supporting community. Unfortunately these friendly, helpful efforts were not shared in by certain well-to-do caciques of the coast or by the Chinese merchants. Parties of Bukidnon, laden with produce, would go to Cagayan, where their innocence of trade and finance was taken advantage of. Low prices for their products were paid in trade for over-valued objects they desired. Many were induced to go into debt and signed papers which led to virtual peonage. When they did not appear as scheduled with hemp or other products, the leaders would secure a judgment and then would go inland to collect.

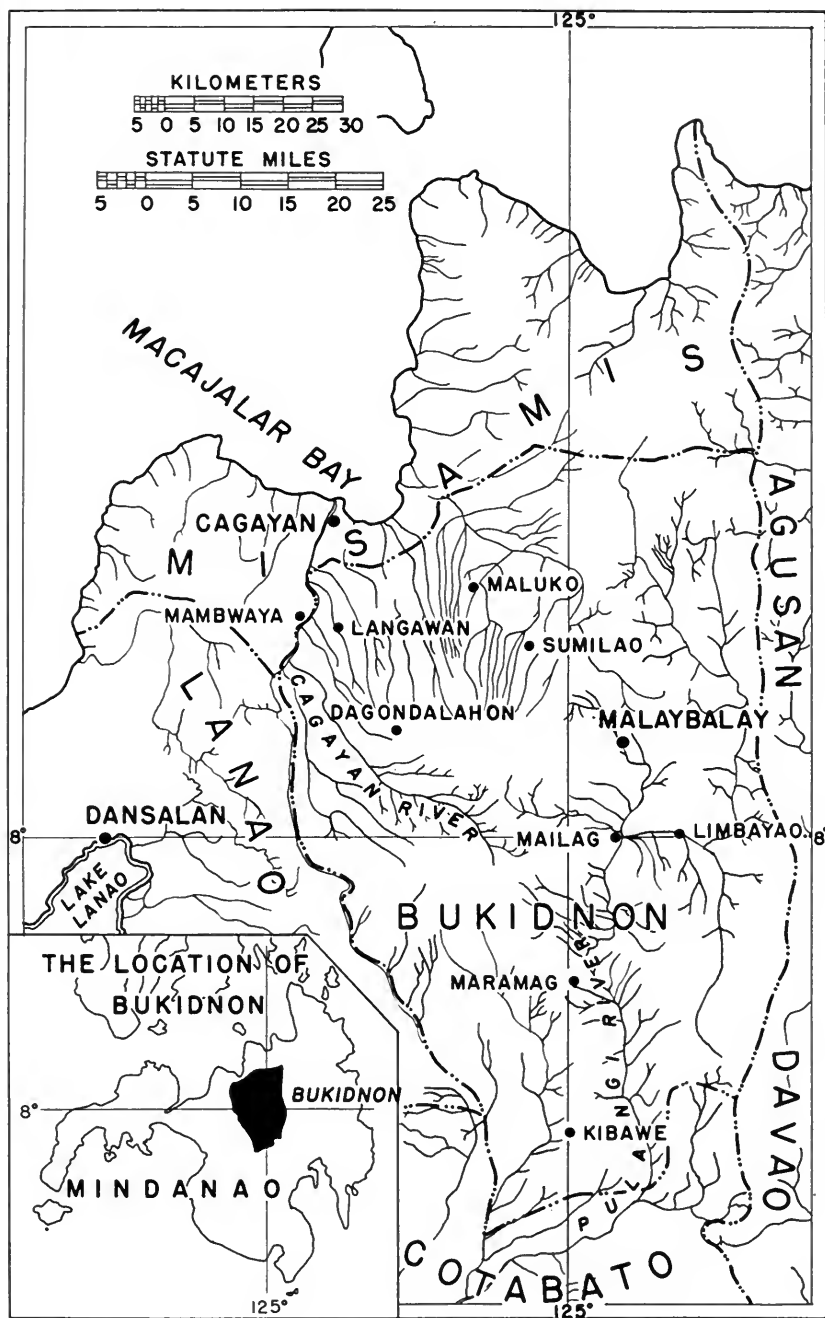


Fig. 1. Bukidnon Province and adjacent territory.

While the missionaries remained they afforded some protection to the villagers, but with the insurrection against Spain and the fall of Manila to the Americans in 1898, the interior natives were left to the mercy of their exploiters. As a result many of the villages were virtually deserted and most Bukidnon reverted to the old life at the edge of the forest.

When American officials, acting under orders of Commissioner Worcester, sought to establish contact with the Bukidnon, they were opposed in every way possible by the caciques and traders of Cagayan. Even though Bukidnon trade had dropped to a low point it still was too profitable to be lost. This attitude had the opposite effect to that intended. Commissioner Worcester made Bukidnon a field of special attention and appointed Frederick Lewis and Manuel Fortich as Governor and Lieutenant-Governor, respectively, with orders to open up the country.

Under these energetic leaders, old villages were re-established, new model towns were organized, grassland agriculture was assisted by the introduction of plows and draft animals, schools were opened and local governments set up. Good trails were built from the coast to Malaybalay, forty miles inland, and later these were extended to other areas. Covered bridges were constructed over streams in the gorges. Where funds were needed for such items as plows and steel girders they were supplied by the government, but construction was done by Bukidnon under American supervisors.

Trade to the coast was supervised, while the appearance of American traders led to active competition and more suitable returns to the producers (Worcester, 1914, vol. 2, pp. 610-29; Cole, 1913, p. 163). Today trade in hemp, coffee, and corn continues with the Bisayan and Chinese traders of Misamis; there is also some indirect trade for weapons and brass boxes with the Moros of Lake Lanao and with the tribes of Davao Gulf.

This brief sketch indicates that so much acculturation had already taken place by 1910 that the towns under direct control were not suitable for the purposes of the investigation proposed. Hence the pagan villages of Mambwaya, Langawan and Dagondalahon on the west, and Mailag and Limbayao in the south-central area, were chosen. Other settlements were visited for shorter periods. At the time of our visit Mailag was strongly acculturated but still retained many old traits. Limbayao was little influenced either by the Americans or other Christianized peoples, but it showed relatively few distinctive Bukidnon traits. It probably should be classed as peripheral Manobo.

SOME GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

On the borders of Bukidnon territory and along the Pulangi River isolated settlements made up of tree houses or dwellings placed high on piles



Fig. 2. The Bukidnon Highlands.



Fig. 3. A deep canyon cutting through the Bukidnon Highlands.

were occasionally seen. They were set in clearings in which crops were raised and which also were of advantage to the occupants in case of an enemy attack. In rare cases they were further protected by bamboo palisades. These tree houses differ but little from the high field houses near the larger settlements.

It is claimed that in former times each district had a petty ruler or *dato* who lived in a large house raised high on stilts. Such dwellings did not exist in 1910, but the descriptions indicate that they resembled those of the Bagobo of the Davao Gulf region to the south (Cole, 1913, p. 66).

Here it should be noted that aside from the "long-house" of Borneo, Sumatra, and a few other areas, the typical Malayan village was made up of several individual family dwellings. Each village was under the guidance of a local headman. Beyond this unit there was no higher authority until Indian, and later Mohammedan, influences brought in the idea of a ruler—*dato* or *rajah*—and the development of states (Cole, 1945a). The tribes of the southern end of the islands had felt these influences to such an extent that the chief *dato* of the Bagobo was the paramount ruler with several subordinate *datos* below him (Cole, 1913, pp. 55, 95 ff.). Certain other tribes had a similar but less well-defined organization. Also, the nearby Moros of the Lanao district had well-developed ideas of the state and powerful rulers.

It is to be suspected that whatever development along this line had taken place in Bukidnon was due to ideas borrowed from their neighbors. The term *dato* is used by the Bukidnon but it is applied to the headman of a village. It is doubtful if these people ever had rulers with control over more than one or two settlements.

Whatever the former power of the *dato*, he has been replaced, at least in name, in most villages by the "presidente," supposedly chosen by popular vote, although the idea of headman is still strong. In earlier times the headman would have been a warrior of renown entitled to wear distinctive dress. Some of the older men still possess such garments, which they wear on great occasions.

PHYSICAL TYPES

During the author's stay with these people physical measurements and observations were made on about one hundred individuals. Unfortunately these are not now available. In the years which intervened, the measurement sheets have been mislaid. Hence, the statements which follow are drawn from field notes and the study of photographs without other verification. Physically the people represent gradations between three types. The first exhibits strong evidences of Negrito (pygmy) mixture; the second



Fig. 4. Bukidnon man showing Negrito mixture.



Fig. 5. Bukidnon man of coastal Malayan (Bisayan) type.

and largest group resembles the coast Bisayan; while the third has many features approximating the Europeans (figs. 4–9).

Evidence of an early pygmy population is found in nearly every district of Mindanao, but is particularly strong in the Atá, a small scattered group in the mountains south and southeast of the Bukidnon territory. While visiting settlements on the southern tributaries of the Pulangi River the writer saw about fifty people called Tugauanum who had come over the mountains to trade. Judging by the small stature of some, and the dark skin, crisp, curly hair and broad to flat noses of many, the group appeared to show considerable infusion of Negrito blood (Cole, 1913, ch. V). Mixture with this early type has given to part of the Bukidnon the characteristics of the little blacks.

The second—Bisayan-like—grouping presents a rather short, slightly built, brachycephalic population with high heads. Zygomatic arches are wide and outstanding; eye slits are often slanting, with the Mongolian fold common. Most noses are relatively high, but broad flat noses with concave bridges are frequent. Lips range from thin to medium; hair is coarse, dark brown to black, and is inclined to be wavy; skin color ranges



Fig. 6. Bukidnon woman of Bisayan type.

from light yellowish to dark reddish brown. This dominant type fades into the Southern Mongoloid classification.

A third, minority, division includes a considerable number of persons. Here we often find high mesocephalic heads, vaulted foreheads, narrow noses, rather thin lips and "strong" chins. The impression is distinctly "European" except for color. This type might be accounted for by mixture with early Indian, Arab, or Spanish invaders were it not for the fact that a similar situation exists even in the most remote areas of Malaysia. As



Fig. 7. Bukidnon man of "Caucasian" type.

stated in an earlier publication (Cole, 1945a, p. 330): "We must postulate an early Caucasoid element in southeastern Asia which has left its imprint on the later proto- and true Malayan."

These three elements do not form distinct groups; they freely intermarry and every gradation is found among them. Father Pablo Pastells in a letter to Father Provincial Capell, S.J., states that the Monteses (Bukidnon) consist of two groups adjacent to the Manobo of Agusan, whose habits they approach. Father Clotet says they exist in three groups, one of which is close to the Manobo of Agusan (Clotet, 1889, *in* Blair and Robertson, vol. 43, p. 289).



Fig. 8. Bukidnon woman of "Caucasian" type.

The population in 1886-87 was estimated by the Governor of Misamis to be 18,000, and by Beyer in 1916 as 48,500 (Pastells, 1916, vol. 2, p. 140; Beyer, 1917, p. 41).

DRESS AND ORNAMENT

One of the marks of resistance to outside ideas is the distinctive dress of the Bukidnon. In his recital of Bukidnon life Father Clotet describes the

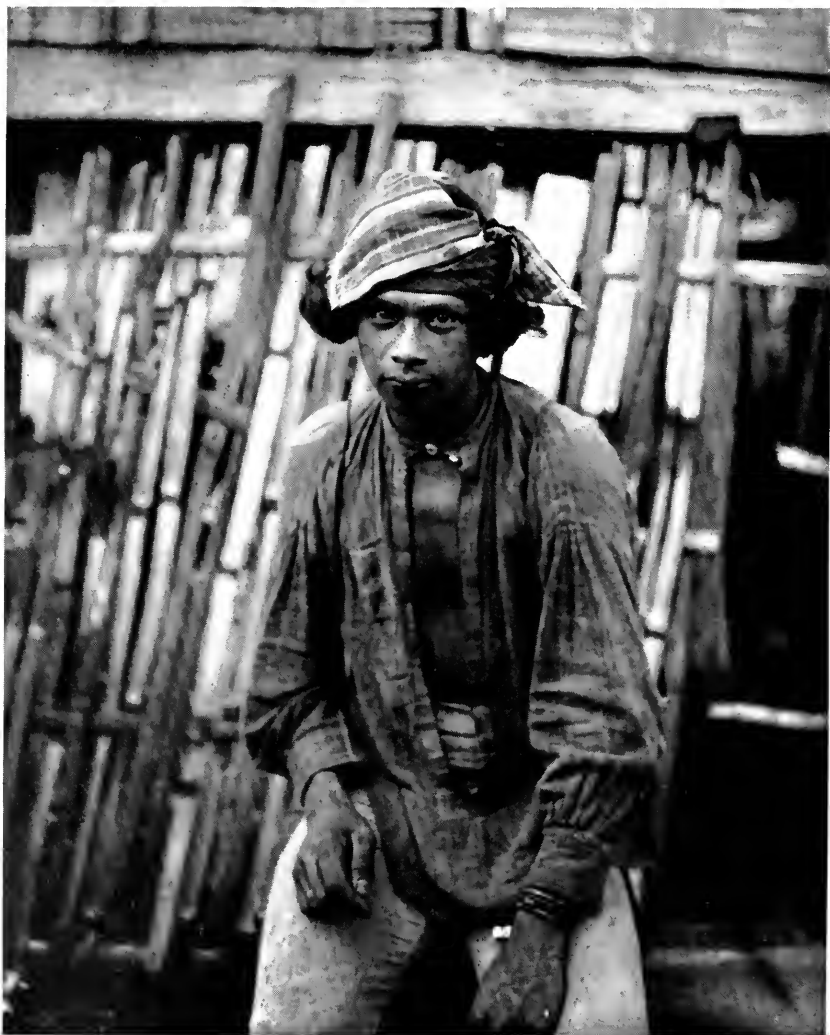


Fig. 9. Bukidnon man of mixed type.

dress in detail and then adds "of all these vain things . . . they are despoiled when they receive the health giving water of baptism." In return they received medals, rosaries and scapularies (Blair and Robertson, 1903-9, vol. 43, pp. 272, 290 ff.). Thus dress became the mark of the true Bukidnon, who wore it proudly and defiantly at nearly all times.

Seen in a group these people appear quite different from all other pagan groups of the island, for the women resemble animated bed quilts, while



Fig. 10. Bukidnon woman's dress.



Fig. 11. Bukidnon man's dress.

the men are only slightly less colorful. A few garments are made of hemp, but the greater part are of cotton trade material from the coast. That this is not a recent development is attested by the account of Father Clotet mentioned above.

The voluminous skirts of the women are often strips of red, blue and white cloth sewed together; or squares and rectangles of cloth may be outlined by white strips. A deep lower section of appliqué or embroidered design may represent triangles, zigzag lines or realistic figures. Jackets, which receive more attention, may be nearly covered with patchwork or designs embroidered in colored yarns. Many of the patterns are realistic—men, flowers and fruits—but others are conventional figures which make the garment “look pretty.” Embroidered cloths, usually red, are worn over the shoulders, and decorated belts encircle the waists (figs. 10–13).



Fig. 12. Woman's dress showing embroidered shoulder cloth.

In addition to the body coverings the women wear large combs with intricate designs inlaid in brass or mother-of-pearl. To the knots of hair on the backs of their heads they add switches. These large rolls of hair are then covered with embroidered cloths which fall to the sides of their heads just back of the ears (fig. 13). Tassels of yellow yarn are suspended back of the ears or are tied in holes pierced in the lobes or helices. Earrings and ear plugs are commonly worn.



Fig. 13. Woman's dress showing embroidered cloth on back of head.

Not content with such ornamentation the women also possess necklaces of beads and seeds, or necklaces skillfully made from boar's bristles. Bracelets of brass or shell often encircle the forearm, and finger rings which cover the upper joints, toe rings, and heavy brass anklets are prized possessions (see fig. 6). The latter are cast so as to leave a central groove in which pellets are placed to form rattles. As the woman walks the rings and anklets "make music wherever she goes." (Clotet, in Blair and Robertson, vol. 43, p. 292.)

The dress of the man is nearly as colorful. Embroidered coats and long trousers held up by decorated belt bands are the main garments. Since these possess no pockets each man carries a carrying bag; this is suspended against the left side by means of a shoulder strap which passes over the right shoulder (figs. 11, 14, 15).

Personal possessions are carried in these bags or inside embroidered turbans. Hats of Bisayan type are much worn. These are round, made of

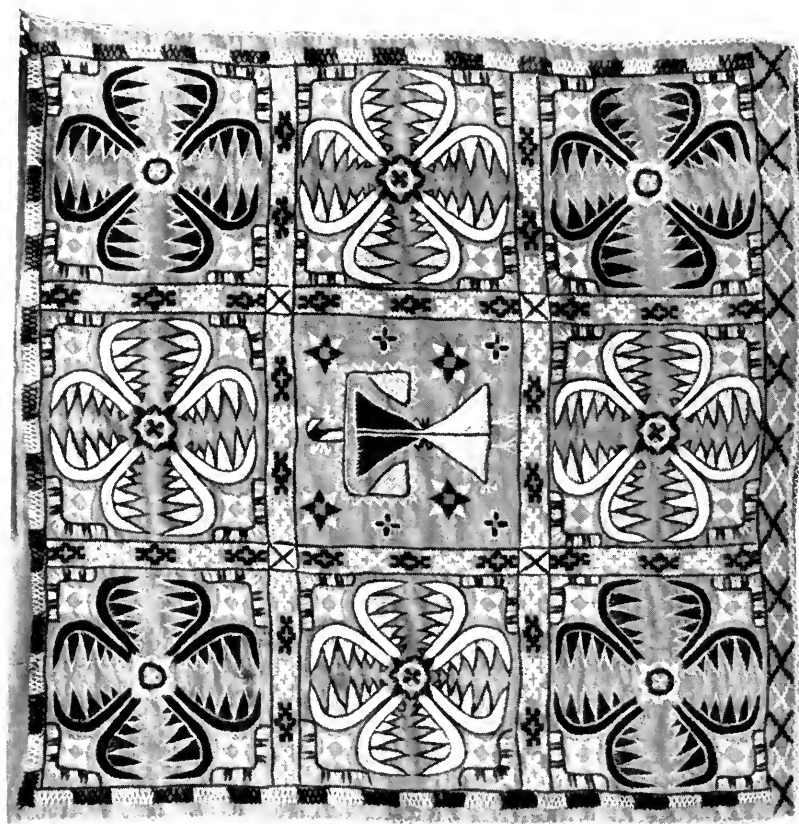


Fig. 15. Detail of decoration on carrying bag.



Fig. 14. Man's embroidered carrying bag.

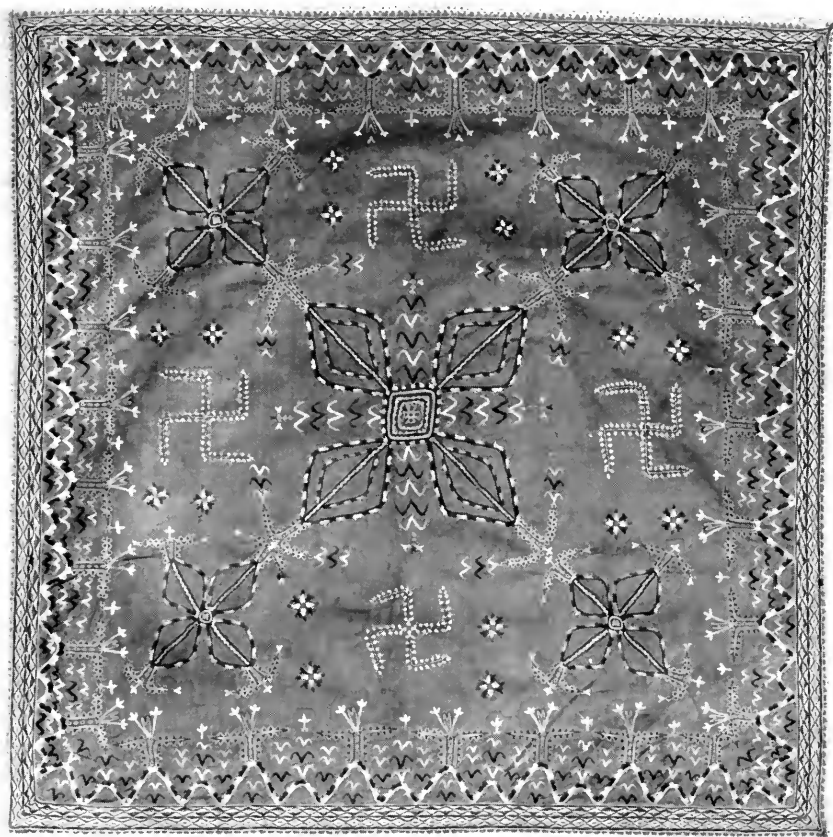


Fig. 16. Man's embroidered turban.

bamboo or rattan, and have spreading bamboo headbands inside. These bands also serve as receptacles for small prized objects. A few hats made of palm bark or wood also appear (figs. 16-19).

This account of dress indicates that the Bukidnon are sharply differentiated from the neighboring Manobo to the east, from the Mandaya to the southeast, and from the Davao tribes to the south (see Garvan, 1931, ch. VI; Cole, 1913).

Quite as important as dress is the proper treatment of the teeth. Adults customarily have the incisors cut horizontally across, about midway of their length, or bored through and inlaid with brass wire. All are blackened and are further stained by the spittle of the betel nut (fig. 20). Tattooing is not practiced.



Fig. 17. Man's dress showing method of wearing turban.

Women wear bangs over the forehead but allow strands of hair to fall in front of the ears. The remaining hair is combed straight back and is tied in a large knot at the back of the head. Switches often are added. Most women and unmarried boys shave the eyebrows (figs. 6 and 12). The man's hair usually is cut rather short, but a few allow it to grow and wind it around the head to be tied in a knot. This, they said, was formerly the custom, and agrees with the account of Father Clotet (1889, in Blair and Robertson, 1903-9, vol. 43, p. 293). Elaborate head cloths are worn like turbans by most men, but distinguished warriors may wear pointed head-dresses and other distinctive clothing (fig. 17).

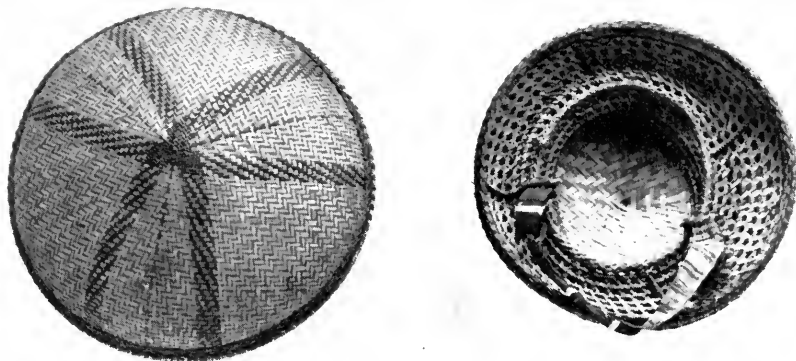


Fig. 18. Man's hat, upper and lower sides.

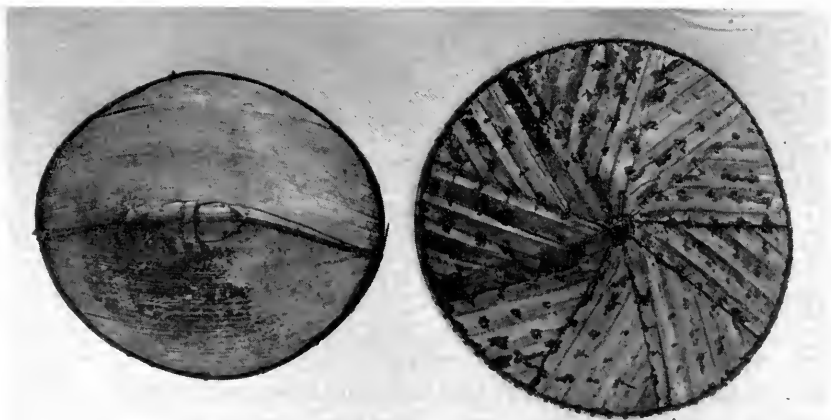


Fig. 19. Bamboo and palm bark hats.

OBJECTS FOR PERSONAL USE

We now turn to those objects and materials which, while not dress, still form a necessary part of a person's accouterments. Both men and women chew the nut of the areca palm—betel nut—and the materials and objects related to its use are necessities wherever the person may be. The quid when ready for use is called *tinalad*. This is prepared by cutting *buyo* (*Piper betel* L.) leaves into strips which are spread with a thin coating of lime. A nut is then cut lengthwise, usually into four pieces, and these are



Fig. 20. Mutilated teeth.

wrapped in the leaves. *Tinalad* when chewed produces a blood red spittle which is freely expectorated. No portion is intentionally swallowed, but enough is absorbed to give a slightly stimulating effect. Tobacco often is added to the quid, which may be pushed up under the upper lip for a time. Continued use of the *tinalad* discolors the teeth, but it also seems to assist in the preservation of those which have been mutilated.

Connected with the betel nut chewing are certain necessary accessories, first of all, the lime. This is secured by burning shells and dropping them into cold water. They are then crushed between the fingers and when dried produce a good grade of lime, which is carried in a small, incised bamboo tube, one end of which is fitted with a sifter made of interwoven strips of rattan. Betel leaf (*Piper betel* L.) often is carried in a double pouch, but the usual device is a small brass box with compartments for nuts and leaves. Some boxes are made locally, but fine containers of metal are obtained in trade with the Moros. Lime containers are habitually carried in the men's carrying bags or in the women's baskets.

Betel nut is second only to rice as a Bukidnon necessity. We shall find it appearing constantly in dealings with the spirit world, as well as in the more important ceremonial and social events. Old people who have lost

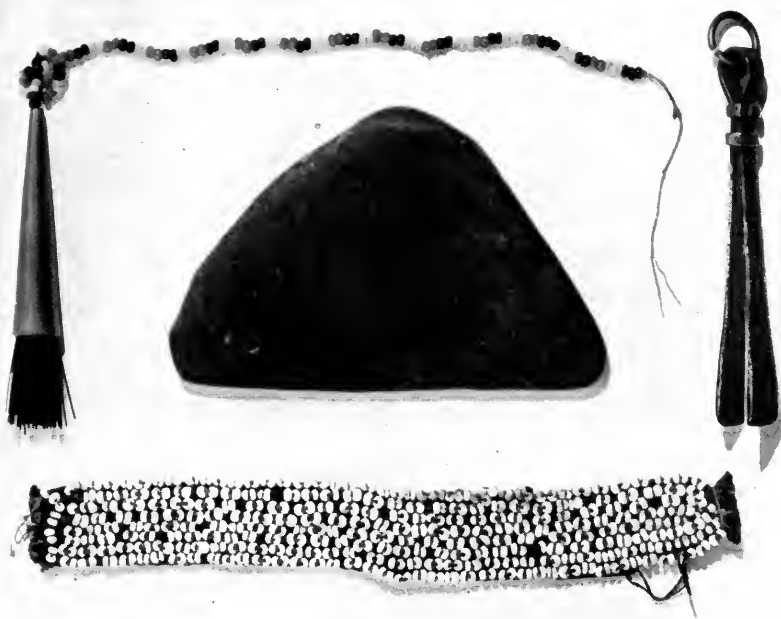


Fig. 21. Toothbrush, tweezers, stone used in filing teeth, and bead neckband.

their teeth or those whose teeth have been so mutilated that they cannot chew carry small mortars and pestles with which they crush and mix the ingredients. Frequently a small brush made of boar's hairs is attached to the owner's garment by a string of beads. It is worn like an ornament but is in reality a toothbrush (fig. 21).

In this connection mutilation of the teeth is to be considered. When a child is old enough to chew betel nut, that is, at about the age of 10, its teeth should be cut and blackened. This is the style and a grown person with white teeth would be laughed at and asked when he would be old enough to chew *tinalad*. The usual method is to file the upper incisor teeth across, about midway, and then to break them off (fig. 20). Another method of ornamentation is to bore holes through the teeth and inlay pieces of copper or brass wire. In addition to mutilation most teeth are blackened although they are already somewhat discolored by the use of betel nut. A cold knife is held in the flame and smoke of burning guava bark, and the "sweat" which is deposited on the blade is rubbed on the teeth several nights in succession. This must be repeated at intervals to maintain the proper color.

Another "ornament" worn by the man or carried in his bag is a pair of iron tweezers which take the place of a razor. Facial hairs are few in number and those which do appear are grasped tightly with the instrument and pulled out (see fig. 21).

In each carrying bag or basket will be found a small pitch-covered or water-tight bamboo container for flint and steel. This is the common fire-making device, but in case of need a bamboo outfit is used. The latter is made by splitting a section of bamboo and cutting a groove across the convex side. The other piece is cut to an edge and this is rubbed rapidly in the groove. The friction produces enough heat to ignite the shavings or a bit of tree cotton placed beneath the groove. This method is known and used throughout Malaysia. It has been stated by Clotet (1889, pp. 300-301) that the fire syringe was once used in this area but none was seen during our stay nor were we able to secure data concerning its use.

SETTLEMENTS

In an earlier paragraph we noted that in former times some settlements along the border may have consisted of several dwellings erected near to the long-house of a recognized leader—such as is found in the Davao Gulf region. All had disappeared by 1910. At the time of the Jesuit entry into Bukidnon few settlements existed on the grasslands. This is easily explained by the fact that coarse cogon grass was an almost insuperable obstacle to cultivation with the primitive tools available.

The easy and usual way to prepare a field is to choose a wooded valley or hillside, girdle or cut down the trees, and, at the proper time, burn them. The land thus cleared is suitable for a one-year crop of dry land rice, abaca (hemp), or possibly tobacco, although this is grown only in limited quantities. As the cogon grass begins to invade the open spaces, the field is planted to camotes, gabi (*Colocasia esculentum* (L.) Schott.)—a variety of taro) or perhaps to a few banana trees. This can be continued for two or three years, after which new clearings are made (figs. 22-23).

Such a procedure does not encourage construction of substantial houses. In general a few upright saplings form the framework to which the supports for the bamboo floor are tied. Cross poles join the tops at a height of about six feet. From the corners light poles make a \wedge at each end and to these a ridge pole is tied. Other light timbers run from the top to the upper stringers to which the thatch roof is laid. Sides are of beaten bark or mats, but a gap normally exists between them and the overhanging roof (figs. 24-25) (see also Garvan, 1931, p. 17). Nearly every family still possesses such a dwelling near to the forest. They are within hailing distance of each other, but do not make up a compact settlement. We may accept the



Fig. 22. Hillside clearing.



Fig. 23. Gabi (taro) field.

natives' statements that this was the early condition. A few tree houses are still seen, set high above the ground. Long poles from the ground to the sides or floor help to secure the structure. Entrance is by means of a ladder which can be drawn up in case of need (fig. 26). Construction is much like that just described.

Under the prompting of the Jesuits, and later of the American governor, villages were established on the grasslands. In general these differed but little from the Bisayan towns along the coast. Similar villages began to appear in the peripheral areas but in these, houses are generally without side walls. The type of construction is illustrated in figure 24.

Floors of the dwellings consist of broad bamboo strips on which grass or rattan mats are laid. The latter are made by lacing cords around narrow strips of rattan, much like the pattern of Venetian blinds (fig. 27). In case of a driving rain these are used as siding. The more substantial town houses may be occupied by two or more families, although the tendency is toward single family occupancy. Entrance is by means of a ladder; doors are rare. A knot of leaves or cogon grass tied to the ladder is a sign that the occupants are away and the place is "taboo." Anyone violating such a sign, either at a house or on a trail leading to a field, is considered an intruder and is treated accordingly.

A raised seat or bed may occupy a sort of alcove near the entrance. Chairs are lacking since the people normally sit on their heels or flat on the floor. Mats serve as beds and tables. Each person has a long narrow pillow filled with tree cotton, which usually is placed against the back or below one leg. People retire fully clad, and if necessary, add a cotton blanket as covering. Occasionally a rattan hammock swings in one corner and this may serve as a bed.

An inventory of household effects will be found in the following section, but a good idea of the scanty furnishings is supplied in figures 27 and 28. In passing we should note three stones set in triangular form in a bed of ashes which serve as a fireplace. Fire burns between the stones on which a pot of rice is placed until it starts to boil. It is then set in the ashes close enough to the heat so that the cooking continues. Pottery jars and sections of bamboo are used for cooking and as water containers. Coconut shell cups may also serve as dishes, although large and small wooden plates are also used. Rattan racks fastened to the wall take the place of cupboards. Food is dipped from the jars with wooden spoons, or spoons with coconut shell bowls, but it is normally conveyed to the mouth by the fingers.

Baskets of all sizes and types hang against the walls or sit on the floor. Some are used for storage, others to carry produce from the fields, and some are fish baskets. Figure 28 shows a simple box-like cradle suspended



Fig. 24. House under construction.



Fig. 25. Small house near the fields.



Fig. 26. Tree house on the Pulangi River.

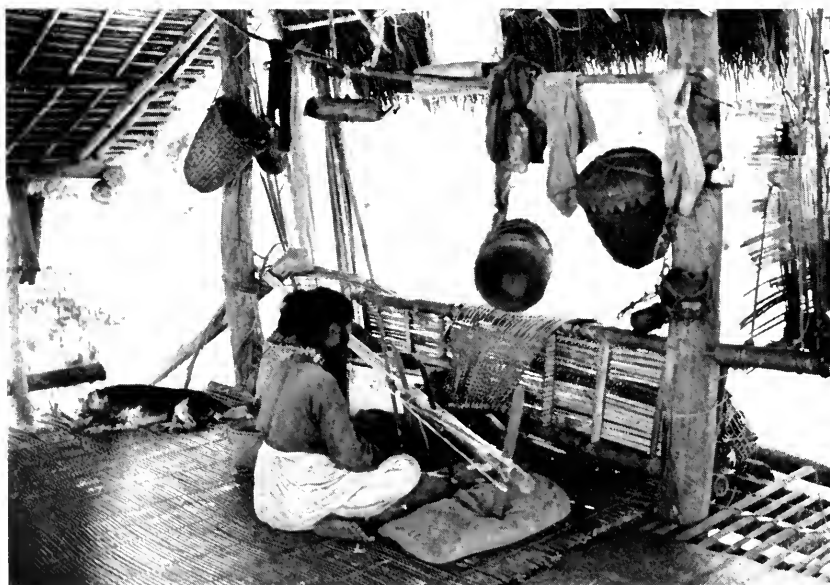


Fig. 27. Interior of Bukidnon dwelling.



Fig. 28. House interior showing box-like cradle.

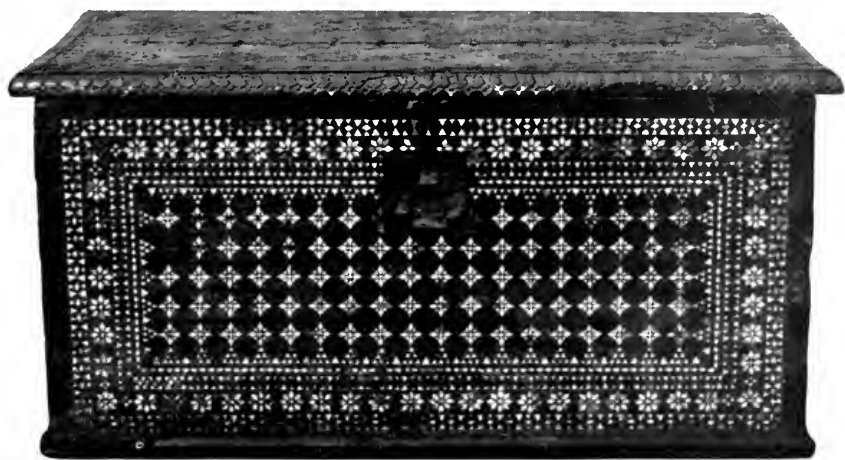


Fig. 29. Wooden chest inlaid with mother-of-pearl.

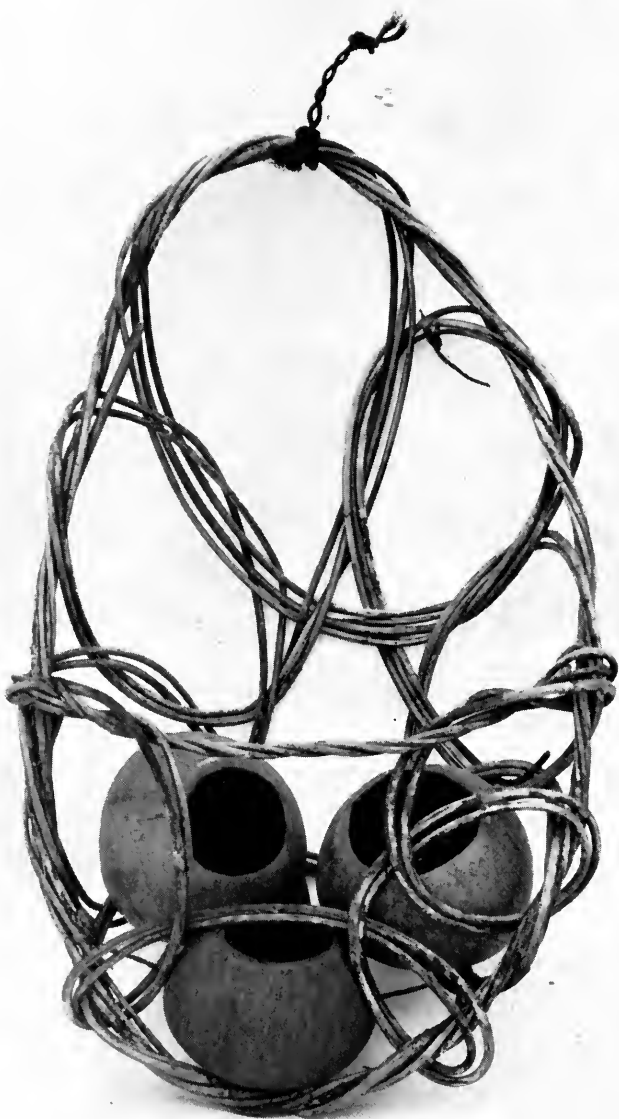


Fig. 30. Rattan wall hanger containing coconut shell cups.

Fig. 31. Rice mortar and pestle.

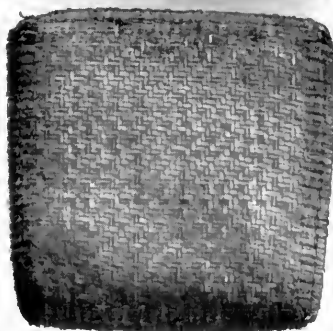
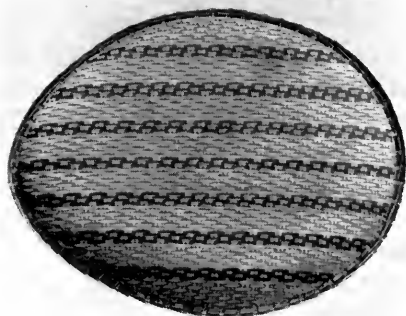


Fig. 32. Rice winnowers.



Fig. 33. Bukidnon woman grinding corn with stone corn-grinder.

from the wall. More commonly these cradles are attached to long bamboo poles which respond to the movements of the child, so that it jounces itself to sleep.

Wooden chests and Chinese jars often stand against the wall. These still are acquired through trade with the coast, but an occasional one may be a valuable old piece which entered the islands many generations ago (Cole, 1912). Among the chests are a few carefully made, fitted with locks, and inlaid with mother-of-pearl in design (fig. 29). These are highly prized and evidently are of some antiquity. They were described by Father Clotet (1889, p. 299) as prized possessions.

Such dwellings appear as rather untidy, but seldom are actually dirty. The floors are stained from the red spittle resulting from chewing betel nut; the walls often are smoked from the open fire or torches, but refuse is swept through the cracks of the floor and, if edible, is promptly consumed by the pigs or the dogs.



Fig. 34. Torch holder.



Fig. 35. Bamboo water carrier.

HOUSEHOLD INVENTORY

Mention already has been made of rattan and grass mats, of pottery jars, wooden dishes and spoons, baskets of various sizes and uses, also of the "stove," the cradle, wooden chests and Chinese jars. To this list should be added:

(1) Large rattan wall hangers in which plates and coconut shell dishes are kept (fig. 30).

(2) Wall hooks or hangers for garments.

(3) A few wooden seats or benches.

(4) Wooden mallets used to beat clothes in washing.

(5) Wooden meat blocks.

(6) Corn or camote shredders—usually a piece of tin punched full of holes and put over a split stick. Green corn or sweet potatoes are drawn over this under pressure.

(7) Rice mortar and pestle. The mortar is made from a hollowed out log. Threshed rice is placed in this and pounded with a wooden pestle until the husks are loosened. It is then placed on a rice winnower and tossed into the air. The wind blows away the chaff while the heavier grains fall back onto the winnower (figs. 31, 32).

(8) Winnower.

(9) Stone corn-grinder—probably a late introduction from the coast (fig. 33).

(10) Torch holders. Blocks of wood or log sections with holes cut in them hold torches which are made of resin wrapped in leaves (fig. 34). Such torches are also suspended from hangers attached to the rafters. Light is also obtained from wicks fitted into dishes filled with grease.

(11) Large gourds or sections of bamboo—often used to store cleaned rice to protect it from rodents and insects.

(12) Bamboo tubes with inter-nodes removed are used to carry and store water (fig. 35).

(13) Rattan hammocks—while not common they are widely distributed over the territory.

(14) Pillows—long narrow pillows filled with tree cotton are used with the sleeping mats. One is placed under a leg or at the back.

(15) Articles of dress, also shields, spears and knives. Drums and other musical instruments may hang on the walls—these are described in other sections. Fish traps and nets often are found beneath the house.

II. Making a Living

Everyone takes some part in food gathering and agriculture. Men and boys fish and hunt occasionally; women and girls gather shellfish and jungle roots. Most women know how to make pottery but few are experts, and the art is declining, due to trade substitutes. Mat- and basket-making are important. Young girls start training by imitating their elders but soon find such work an important part of their regular duties. A few women weave hemp and cotton cloth. It is evident that this was formerly an important accomplishment but trade cloth from the coast has led to a sharp decline in native work. On the other hand the great emphasis laid on appliqué and embroidery of garments has made nearly every woman an artist.

Several native forges were observed in various parts of the territory, and it appears that the Bukidnon were once self-sufficient in the production of such metal objects as spears and knives. Today nearly all such are secured from the coast or from the Moros of Lake Lanao. The Bukidnon metal working outfit is of the typical Malayan type, consisting of two cylinders hollowed out of logs. In these cylinders plungers, made of wood with a packing of feathers, are alternately raised and lowered, thus forcing the air through bamboo tubes into a bed of charcoal. Knives and spearheads are beaten out of pig iron obtained in trade, then are brought to a white heat and held over a container filled with water. The operator watches closely and when the cooling metal begins to turn a greenish yellow he dashes it into the water. The result is steel. This method and its distribution have been discussed in detail in another volume (Cole, 1945a, pp. 167-168). Brass casting by the wax mould process was once common but has been replaced by trade articles to such an extent that the art has nearly vanished. The Malayan forge is used for reducing the metal.

HUNTING AND TRAPPING

Game is plentiful but the men are not ardent sportsmen. The most common method of hunting is for a party to surround a burned over plot and to drive the game into the open. Dogs are employed and when an animal is brought to bay, it is impaled with long shafted thrusting spears. In some cases nets are spread at strategic points toward which the hunters

converge. Deer and pig are sometimes hunted from horseback, the rider seeking to thrust a long spear into the victim. The head of the weapon is detachable but is fastened to the shaft by means of a long cord. If the head is well set in the animal, the shaft drags through the underbrush and thus retards escape (fig. 37).

All members of a hunting party share equally in the kill. It is said that any surplus will be cut up into strips and after being salted will be hung in the sun to dry. It is doubtful if this often occurs. On several occasions groups of natives accompanied the writer on night hunting trips. As many as three deer were obtained in an evening, but all the meat was consumed by the villagers within a few hours. Single hunters do not stalk the game, neither do they use any decoys.

The bow and arrow appears as a toy, but its serious use is limited to those areas close to the wilder tribes to the east and south. Small bows fitted with rattan strings are used by boys to kill fish, birds, and frogs. The arrows often have several points and shooting is far from accurate (fig. 36).

Two types of traps—slip noose and deadfall—are used for deer and pig. The former consists of a long line with a slip noose at one end. The latter consists of two light timbers set in triangle form over the runway of the game. Two small posts rest against these at about the height of a deer's antlers. Next the line is attached to a tree and is looped around the tops of the timbers. Then the slip noose is spread open and is held by the posts. An antlered animal passing between the timbers has its horns caught in the noose, and is then easily speared.

A deadfall constructed of logs (figs. 39, 40) is placed in the runway with a release cord so situated that a passing animal will trip it and cause the suspended log to fall. Stones or another heavy log resting on it give sufficient weight to stun or kill a deer or pig.

A common trap is a slip noose variety used in capturing wild chickens and lizards (fig. 41). An arch is made of a twig against which the top of a trigger rests. The lower end of the trigger presses against a cross-piece. Light strips of bamboo rest on the cross-piece and on the ground; on these a slip noose is placed. The line, of which the slip noose is a part, is held taut by passing between the trigger and the arch. From there it passes on to be attached to a bent branch. The bait is placed on and beneath the bamboo strips. The weight of an intruder releases the trigger and causes the noose to be closed around its legs. It is claimed that similar, but larger, devices are sometimes used for deer and pig, but none was seen. Small birds caught in snares are often kept on perches in the houses as pets.

Chicken snares and carrying baskets, like those in use throughout the Philippines, are common. Such a snare consists of a series of slip nooses attached to a common band. This band is set in a square or circle and is

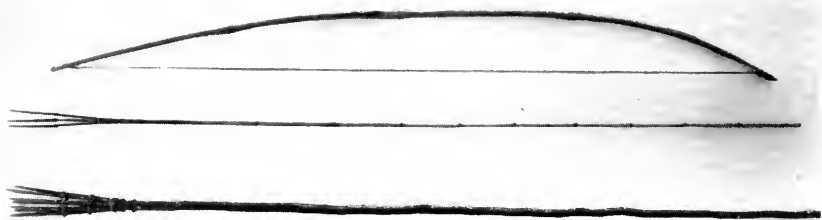


Fig. 36. Small bow and arrow used by boys.

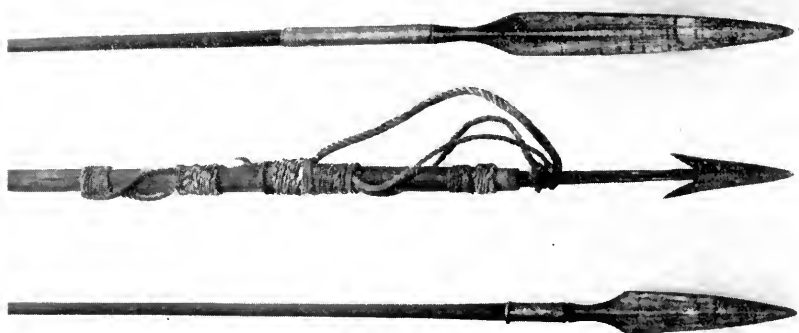


Fig. 37. Bukidnon spears.



Fig. 38. Torch holder used in hunting frogs.



Fig. 39. Deer and pig trap.

held by sticks so that each noose lies nearly flat. In the center of the square a tame rooster is tied. The crowing of this fowl attracts the wild birds, which come in to fight. As the intruder moves back and forth a leg is soon caught and held in a noose.

Frogs are hunted at night by means of a torch and a many-pointed bamboo spear. A shield is attached to the torch to protect the eyes of the hunter (fig. 38). Apparently the frogs are blinded by the glare and are easily taken. Young boys are quite adept at this sport. Parrots and small birds are secured by placing "bird lime" where they congregate. The sap of the breadfruit tree is spread on a stick which is then fastened at a likely spot. Birds lighting on it are held like a fly on fly paper.

FISHING

Fish are secured in traps similar to those in use through Malaysia. As a rule they are made out of bamboo, torpedo shaped with a funnel opening at one end and a removable cap at the other (fig. 42). The funnel is made of bamboo spikes set close together. A fish can push through these, with ease, to enter the trap but cannot return. Such traps are set at the ends of stone channels through which the water of a stream is diverted, or they may be baited and placed in pools. A less common device, made like a truncated cone with both ends open (fig. 43), is used in muddy water.

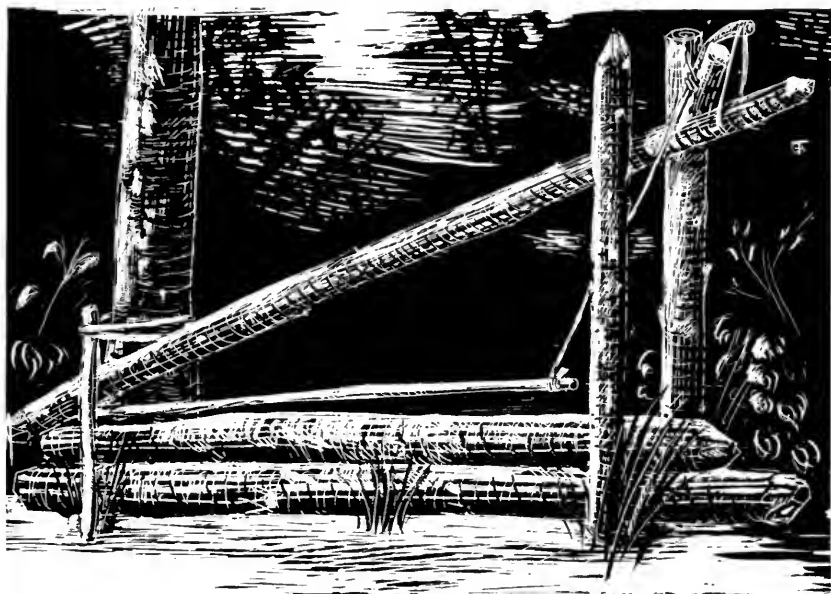


Fig. 40. Deadfall trap for deer and pigs.

The fisherman pushes this down to the bottom, then inserts his arm and feels around for any fish which may have been trapped.

Small fish nets, used by women, consist of nets fastened to poles, one of which is held in each hand. The operator holds the net down stream, then with her feet she moves rocks under which fish may be hiding. These dart down stream and into the net. Three or more men sometimes manipulate a large hemp net weighted with stone sinkers. Two drag the extended net slowly up stream toward the third man, who drives fish down by overturning rocks on the stream bottom.

An old method—fish poisoning—is used where conditions permit. Dried berries called *lagtang*, probably *Anamirta cocculus* (L.) W. and A., are roasted and crushed into a powder. This is placed in damp moss which is wrapped around a stone and thrown into a quiet pool. Soon stupefied fish rise to the surface. The method is effective but is of limited use due to the fact that swiftly flowing streams offer few favorable pools.

Eel traps—like those of widespread use—are found here. A long tube-like basket has an outside spring made of a bent limb. This is held by means of a trigger attached to a cap at the open end. The device is baited with a frog, at the far end, which is also attached to the trigger. When an eel enters and attempts to drag out the bait it releases the trigger and the

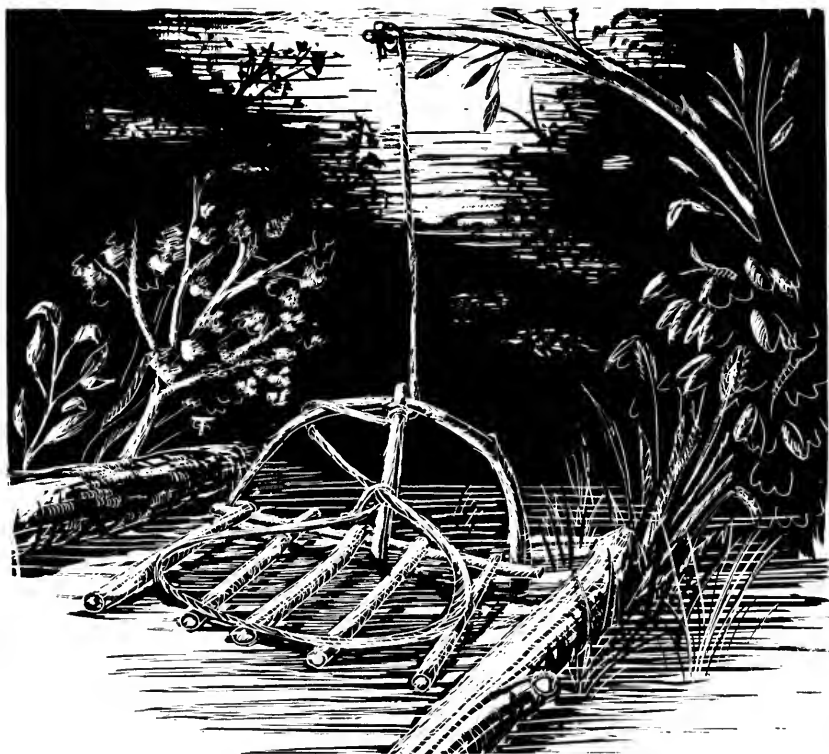


Fig. 41. Slip nose trap for wild chickens and lizards.



Fig. 42. Funnel fish trap.

spring pulls the door shut. Some hooks and lines are used but doubtless are of recent introduction. Much of the fishing and gathering of shellfish is done by the women. When thus engaged they attach small covered baskets to their belts and into them drop the catch.



Fig. 43. Cone fish trap.

Compared to most Philippine tribes the Bukidnon appear singularly lacking in interest in hunting and fishing, and in all ceremonial connected with them. The devices used are those commonly employed throughout Malaysia.

AGRICULTURE AND ITS RITUALS

As already noted, most Bukidnon farms are clearings near streams or on forested hillsides. A man selects a desirable plot and summons his neighbors to assist him. Later he will return services in kind.

Before any work is done the prospective owner must square accounts with the spirit world. It is well known that in the first times the earth was like a person. If it was cut it would bleed, and the spirit would suffer. Likewise the trees were like humans. To compensate and appease them the owner and his friends go to the edge of the plot and build a little plat-

form. At the foot of this they tie live chickens, while rice, eggs and betel nut prepared for chewing are placed on top. Then the owner addresses the spirits of earth, stones, cliffs, *baliti* (*Ficus* spp.) trees and vines which are on the land desired, in addition to the more powerful being, saying: "Do not be angry with us who clean the land. Do not be offended for we now offer chickens, rice, betel nut and drink. Let the seed bear good crops." Then the chickens are killed, and while the women prepare food some of the men start clearing the land.

Underbrush is slashed with working knives; small trees are cut and larger ones girdled by means of adzes—iron blades set in wooden handles. Then when certain constellations appear in the proper place in the sky it is known that the time has arrived to set fire to the dry debris. A few days later unburned portions are made into piles and are refired. Despite this the fields usually appear rather disorderly, with large trunks lying where they have fallen. It really is unnecessary to remove them for within a few months they will have been eaten up by the *anav* or "white ants"—termites (see fig. 22). When the food is ready the workers return to the little platform. Again the spirits are summoned and after they have had an opportunity to partake of the offerings they are besought to be satisfied with their pay and not to cause injury to those who now would use the land.

Before the planting begins a second ceremony must be made for *Ibabasô*, the spirit who lives in and guards the field. (Clotet [1889, p. 294] says that the god of the fields is known as *Tagumbanua*. The *Kaliga* ceremony is made for him. He mentions a powerful spirit *Ibabasug* as the one invoked in childbirth.) A stick about two feet long is sharpened at one end "like a planting stick" and with it a few holes are made in the soil. This done, it is placed firmly in the ground within the field, and to it leaves are tied. The device—now known as *kalôtan*—is surrounded with the seed rice and prepared betel nut is placed on a little table of bark. Next a chicken is killed and as the *baylan* addresses the spirits he sprinkles blood on the *kalôtan* and on the seed rice. His prayer, first addressed to the superior spirits and then to *Ibabasô* is as follows: "Please now allow this rice to thrive; keep animals from molesting or destroying it, for now we offer blood to you." This done, the flesh of the fowl is cooked and eaten by the workers, who also chew the betel nut.

Planting can now be undertaken unless a further ceremony connected with *Kaliga-ôn* (p. 107) is required. In Central Mindanao the *Kaliga* is a ceremony made after harvest by all the people. Each owner of a field goes there with friends who sing as they go. The owner carries two sticks under his arms. A jar of liquor is placed in the house and all drink and sing from afternoon to morning.

If a person falls sick before planting time a small ceremony is held to determine if one of the spirits of *Kaliga-ôn* is responsible. At that time the *baylan* cuts off a bit of a chicken's comb and promises the spirit involved that a little house will be erected for him in the field. This will be done at once and must always be placed above the *kalôtan* just mentioned. Other illnesses are met by promises of ceremonies "when harvest time is past." This agreement is also sealed by clipping off a bit of a chicken's comb.

Most of the planting is done by the women, although men may assist. One or more persons carrying long sticks sharpened at one end move in straight lines punching holes into the ground. Others follow, dropping the seed rice into the holes and then pushing in earth with their feet. Informants named nine kinds of rice, none of which is grown in wet land plots. In the grasslands where the government furnishes animal-drawn plows for breaking the soil a line of eight or ten men use poles to punch holes into which they drop the seed.

Villages like Limbayao, close to the Manobo, hold a two day ceremony for the ancestors and other spirits just before the planting. A little altar is erected to which pigs, chickens and liquor are brought. Through the first night the people drink and sing; then next morning they slaughter and offer the animals.

No great amount of care is given to the growing crop although the women do some weeding. But as harvest time approaches the scene changes. Unless they are prevented, monkeys, deer, and rice-birds will secure the major part of the crop. To guard against them little houses are set high on piles so as to overlook the growing grain. From these structures bamboo or rattan lines radiate in all directions. These are attached to split bamboo sticks which act as clappers. The operator in the shelter pulls the cords from time to time. This makes a great clatter which frightens the birds or causes larger intruders to beat a retreat. If the land is at a distance from the settlement, the field house may be set in the branches of a tree to give protection to the caretaker against raiders. In such cases the entire family may reside there during the critical period of crop growth.

When the harvest time comes the owner goes alone to the *kalôtan* and cuts enough rice to feed the family, their helpers and guests. This rice must be cut with a small blade similar to that so widespread throughout Malaysia (Cole, 1945a, p. 165). The blade is attached to a cylinder which is held between the third and fourth fingers. This leaves the first finger free to catch the stalk. The thumb then presses it against the metal (fig. 44).

When sufficient rice has been cut it is placed beside the *kalôtan*. This breaks the taboo and others may then help. Women cook the new rice, a chicken is prepared for food and betel nut is made ready for chewing.

The feast is spread on mats and the *baylan* addresses *Ibabasô* and other spirits which had been summoned at planting time. To them he says: "Now come here and eat. Here are chicken and rice and betel nut for you to chew. Now I tell you that our rice is matured and I wish very much to eat it, but I allow you to eat before we do." The spirits are given time



Fig. 44. Rice knife.

for their repast and then the *baylan* summons the people. When they have finished eating they may begin the harvesting of the field, for the spirits are now satisfied.

As the grain is cut it is tied into bundles and is placed in the sun to dry. No granaries are provided so the rice is then removed from the straw, beaten in mortars to loosen the chaff, winnowed and then stored in bamboo tubes or in bags.

After the harvest, when sufficient food is available, all the people who have made pledges prepare to celebrate the *Kaliga-ôn* ceremony. Rice, chickens and in some cases pigs, drink and betel nut are made ready. The first and second days are devoted chiefly to singing and dancing, with occasional offerings of betel nut to the spirits. On the third morning the *baylans* go to the fields accompanied by all who are under pledge to give the ceremony. They go to the spirit houses, repair each one and then place food and drink and live fowls nearby. The spirits who have been residing in the structures and have cared for the fields are now invited to eat and to chew betel nut with the mortals they have aided. A *baylan* cuts the throat of a rooster and sprinkles blood on the spirit house and on the person giving the ceremony. The symbol of the spirit is removed from its place and

is carried to the edge of the town. There the group awaits parties coming from other fields.

When all have assembled they go to the center of the village and erect a large platform to which they tie the animals to be sacrificed. On this platform are placed rice, eggs and other offerings. A spirit image now appears, whereupon the animals are slaughtered and blood is splashed over the figure. All is silent except for the voices of the *baylans* calling to the spirits to come to the village, to enter the houses and partake of food and drink. In each dwelling involved a jar of liquor is opened; a mat is spread on the floor and on it are placed offerings of beads, needles, rings and the like. Food is piled high on banana leaves and the spirits are urged to eat. They are reminded that the people have kept their pledges, and that all still ailing should be restored to health. When the spirits have had ample time to finish their repast, the "remaining" food is divided into little piles—one for each person. Most of it is eaten at once but any which is left will be placed on banana leaves and be carried home. Drinking and singing continue through that day and night.

The chief crop is rice, but corn and sugar cane are sometimes planted in a new clearing. After one season the field will be given over to camotes, *Ipomoea batatas* (L.) Poir.; gabi, *Colocasia esculentum* (L.) Schott.; or hemp, *Musa textilis* Née. Small amounts of tobacco, cotton, and piper plants are also raised. The procedure for clearing land is always the same, but rice is the only crop associated with the ceremonies just mentioned. A few betel nut and coconut palms or banana trees may appear close to the houses or lining the streets of the model villages, but they are not produced in quantity. In settlements once under control of the priests coffee and other introduced trees and shrubs may still thrive.

While the amount of tobacco raised is limited it is important, for the leaf is used by most people in connection with betel nut chewing. When the leaves are mature they are stripped from stems and midribs and are rolled into balls. These are placed between two boards which are tied together and the leaves are then dried for four or five days. When removed from the boards a number will be wrapped in a banana leaf and will be hung above the fire until thoroughly cured. In no instance did we see tobacco smoked, but Clotet, writing in 1889, says it was then smoked in small clay, wood or horn pipes with bamboo mouth pieces (Clotet, 1889, p. 301).

Reference has been made to a fermented drink known as *agkEd* or *pangasi*. The first step in its production is to pound rice into a fine powder and to soak it thoroughly. To this is added powdered pepper and ginger and if available some sugar cane juice. The mixture, then known as *tapay*, or ferment, is made into cakes which are sun dried. When all is ready one

or more cakes are mashed and are sprinkled over cooked rice. This is wrapped in leaves and is put in a basket until it begins to ferment. It then is transferred to a jar, and is kept tightly closed until nearly all of it has become liquid. It is then ready to drink. Two long bamboo tubes are used to suck it from the jar. The residue is eaten.

In addition to the foods mentioned, the following are raised and used in minor quantities:

Two or three kinds of beans.

Onions.

Sugar cane.

A small red pepper called *sili* (*Capicum frutescens* L.) for seasoning.

Ginger (*Zingiber officinale* Rosc.) for seasoning.

Squash.

Eggplant.

Also an occasional pineapple, jack fruit and breadfruit.

To this list should be added fronds of young ferns, various bulbs, a variety of young bamboo, the heart of the palma brava tree, mushrooms, and other wild products, such as leaves and seed pods.

Domesticated and wild plants and trees furnish the major food supplies. To these should be added chicken, eggs and pigs—especially at times of ceremonies. Decrepit horses and carabao are also eaten. When slaughtered the blood is saved and is cooked with the entrails; very little of such an animal is discarded.

Most wild animals—such as deer, pigs, lizards—as well as wild chicken, birds, doves, parrots and bats are utilized. Grasshoppers, frogs and some snakes are eaten. Most prized among the latter is the boa constrictor. It is roasted, cut into sections and further cooked with tomatoes, pepper leaves, salt and coconut meat if available. Rats are seldom eaten, and crows are refused “because they eat dead men.”

Fourteen varieties of fish, all of which are eaten, were recorded. To these should be added eels, shrimps, crabs and shellfish. The latter are cooked in salt water and the meat removed with thin splints of bamboo.

Note has already been made of the fermented rice wine called *agkEd* or *pangasi*. A less common drink—*sinobog* or *tuba*—is made by adding peppers and *tungog* to sugar cane juice. This is put into bamboo tubes and is allowed to stand two or three days.

Coffee and cacao are raised in the Central Valley. Most of them is sold to the coast but some is consumed locally. Both are roasted in a pot, are mashed or pounded and hot water is added.

MEDICINES

Nearly all illnesses are considered to be caused by spirits or by magic. Proper ceremonies are held to appease or counteract the unfavorable conditions, but in addition to these a number of "medicines" are used. The names of twenty-three of these were gathered and identified. For stomach pains or headache certain leaves or slices of lemon are heated and applied like a poultice. Another treatment is to chew the bark of the *yow-yow* tree. Pains in the side or chest are treated by applying a powder made from a plant like garlic or by scrapings of certain barks. Open sores are treated by covering them with "green" cotton—just taken from the pod—or by a sticky juice obtained from the root of the *dungau* plant.

A medicine "with great power" is the dried gall of the boa constrictor. A little of this is made into a powder, put into water and drunk as a cure for stomach ache.

During their menstrual periods the women wear leg bands made from the cuticle of ferns, a sea grass and orchid stems wrapped around central splints. These are also said to give strength to the wearer on long walks. Similar bands are worn by men as a protection against threatened sickness.

Our medicine kit was held in great respect, and some of our "cures" were little less than phenomenal. Quinine, castor oil and similar remedies were really effective, but many cases were beyond our diagnosis or were imaginary. For these we rolled brown bread pills in quinine and the strongest tasting ingredients we possessed, and gave them to our patients. Some, so ill that they were carried to us, made such rapid recovery that they walked out. One woman who had been hooked by a carabao more than a year before and had been sick ever since was so improved within the hour that she was taking part in a dance. As our reputation grew our patients increased. They loved castor oil and soon our stock was so threatened that we had to change to Epsom salts, and we lost many customers as a result.

HOUSEHOLD AND VILLAGE INDUSTRIES

Basketry

The woman is the basket maker, and in the manufacture of her wares she employs chiefly three materials—bamboo, rattan and pandanus.

Not much attention is given to decoration, but such an effect is sometimes achieved by alternating the outer "enameled" strips with the dull inner ones. In some cases colored bands of bamboo also are used. A permanent black is achieved by applying juice of the banana blossom or of the *tuba-tuba* (probably *Jatropha curcas* L.) to strips which are then held in the smoke of burning resin.



Fig. 45. Large carrying baskets.

Four weaves and their variants are used:

(1) Checkerwork: In this the warp and weft are of uniform size and pliability, and each element passes over one and under one of the other, thus forming square or rectangular checks. A variant of this weave is found in certain baskets in which the warp is crossed and the weft passes through in regular order, so as to produce hexagonal openings.

(2) Diagonal or twilled: Two or more weft strands pass over two or more warp elements, but not the same in adjoining rows; also the warp and weft both run diagonally.

(3) Wickerwork: In this the warp is rigid; the smaller and more flexible weft passes under one and over one of the former.

(4) Crossed weft: Here two sets of wefts cross each other at an angle and interlace a rigid warp.

The woman is the usual carrier of field products. Her load is supported by a band passing around her forehead and to the basket, which rests on her back. When carried by a man the basket is fitted with bands which pass over the shoulders, thus holding the receptacle close to his back (fig.



Fig. 46. Large baskets used on horses or carabao.

45). For long trips a large basket is attached to the side of a horse or carabao (fig. 46).

Large baskets or bark containers are set at convenient spots in the field during harvest time; they also stand near the forges to hold charcoal. Similar baskets are used for general storage in the houses. Small baskets of pandanus are often attached to the women's belts to hold odds and ends. Better made containers are regularly worn and take the place of pockets (figs. 47, 48). Rice sacks of straw (fig. 49) are designed to hold clean rice. When filled they may be used as units of exchange—"so many sacks of rice."

The methods of mat-making and of constructing rice winnowers are closely related to basketry. Mats are usually made of a wild grass although rattan is also used. The grass is dried and is flattened by being drawn under the edge of a knife. Coloring, when desired, is accomplished by placing the strands in liquid vegetable dyes. The chief coloring materials are obtained from *talisay* (*Terminalia catappa* L.) and *tagom* (*Indigofera tinctoria* L. or *I. teysmanni* Miq.), or from the juice of the banana blossom which after being applied is held in the smoke of burning resin.

Mats serve as beds, as seats for guests, as tables and even as musical instruments, as well as wrapping for the dead. Crude mats of pandanus are also used for drying grains, coffee and the like.



Fig. 47. Trinket basket (L) and rice basket (R).



Fig. 48. A group of small baskets.



Fig. 49. Rice bags.

Weaving

Hemp (*Musa textilis* Née), which is raised in considerable quantity, is the chief article of export. Apparently it was once used locally to a much greater extent than at present. Today most of the product is carried to the coast where it is sold or bartered for cotton cloth and other desired materials. The hemp plant closely resembles the banana, but is grown in considerable acreage whereas bananas occur in groups of three or four plants. When sufficient material is ready it is carried to the stripper. This is a simple device (figs. 50, 51) consisting of an iron blade resting on a hard wood block. The handle of the blade turns on a wooden pivot and one end is attached to a bamboo spring. As the handle is drawn up the blade is forced down. The operator raises the blade by means of a foot treadle, which draws the handle down. He places a strip of hemp on the wooden block, the foot pressure is removed and the knife descends. Grasping one end of the strip the operator draws it toward him thus removing the pulp. The fibre is hung in the sun to dry and then is tied into bundles and is ready to be carried to the coast. The work is hard and a man seldom strips hemp for more than a few days at a time.

Skirts and blankets of hemp formerly were made by the "tie and dye" process so common in the Davao Gulf region (Cole, 1913, pp. 83-84). Only



Fig. 50. Stripping hemp.

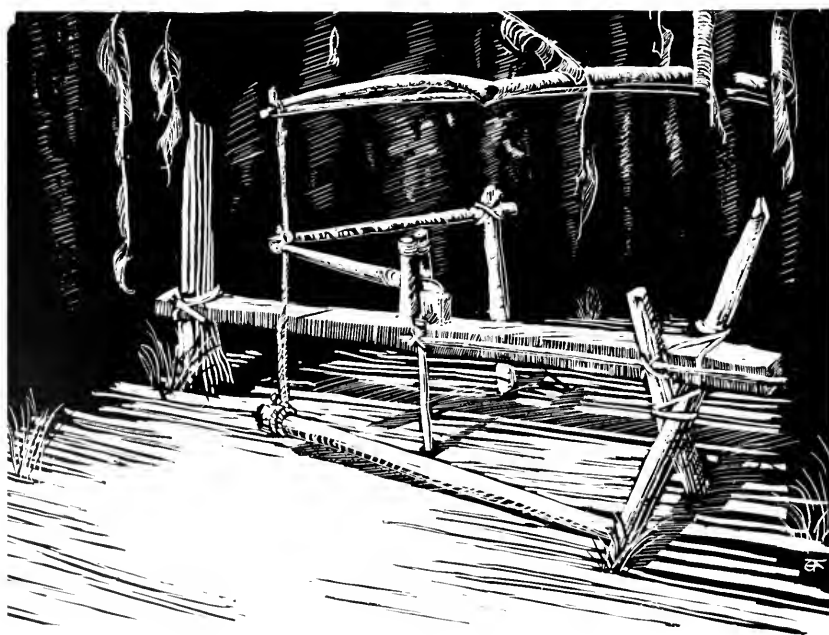


Fig. 51. Details of hemp stripper.

a few of the women still do this type of work and soon it will be a lost art in this tribe. The method employed is as follows: Warp threads are placed on a long frame and the design is tied in by overwrapping all portions which are to remain uncolored. When this is completed the warp is removed from the frame and is placed in cold liquid dye. When thoroughly soaked it is hung up to dry. The process is repeated until the desired color is obtained. Ultimately the overwrapping is removed, revealing the uncolored portions. The warp threads are then placed on a loom and the weft is woven in.

Weaving in both cotton and hemp is done on a backstrap loom. For the hemp all designs are tied into the warp, but the figures in cotton are obtained by placing the threads on a frame (fig. 27) which has rods corresponding to the lease rods of the loom. Designs are obtained by the manipulation of these rods, as the shuttle is run back and forth on the loom.

Only a small amount of cotton is raised. Seeds are removed by a device which operates on the principle of a clothes wringer. Spinning is equally simple. A thread is twisted out of a wad of cotton and is attached to a spindle. This is operated with the free hand. As the spindle turns it twists out new thread from the cotton held in the left hand. When the spindle stops the thread is wound up on the shaft and the process is repeated. This is an old method found in most of the coastal areas of Malaysia.

Pottery

This art, like weaving, is disappearing as a result of trade but some women still practice it. Clay is kneaded by hand and is placed on a dish which sits on a rice winnower. Nearby is a coconut shell filled with water. The clay is shaped with the fingers, is beaten and thinned with a paddle applied to the outside over a stone held inside. Final shaping and smoothing are achieved by applying a damp cloth to the surface as the dish is turned slowly with the free hand. Scroll designs are incised or may be added with a small stencil. Smooth stones are used to rub over the surfaces. Any designs are placed just below the rim. Firing is done by laying bamboo sticks around the pot—in the manner of laying a rail fence. This when fired makes a hot but even fire sufficient to bake the clay (fig. 52).

Carving and Decorative Art

A few very crude representations of human beings appear in the ceremonies, but they consist of little more than the suggestion of a head cut out of a pole, with indications of eyes, nose and mouth. Such figures serve only once and are then discarded.



Fig. 52. Firing pottery.



Fig. 53. "Guitars" or boat lutes.

Long, narrow "guitars" (fig. 53) frequently have the lower end carved to represent one or two heads of crocodiles or birds, while the upper end is the tail.

Shields (figs. 54, 55) may have elevated centers or be inlaid with beads and surrounded with tufts of horse hair. The edges may also have a fringe of hair. In addition, simple designs in straight or curved black lines may be added to the front and back. In a few instances the handles or scabbards of knives may be carved to represent a star or may be inlaid with white beads. Women's combs and a few of the earrings have incised designs



Fig. 54. Circular shield showing front.

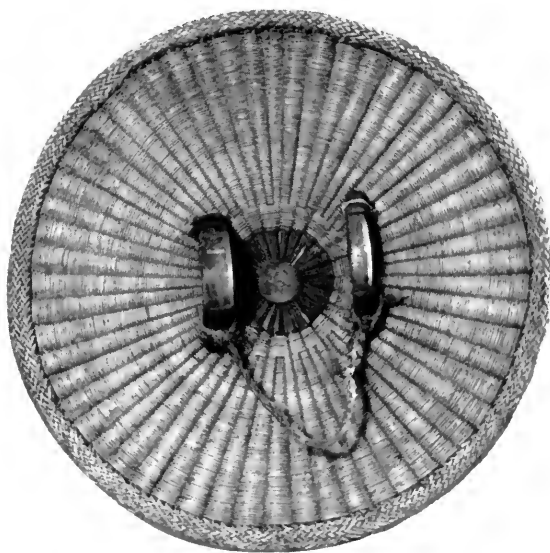


Fig. 55. Circular shield showing hand grip.

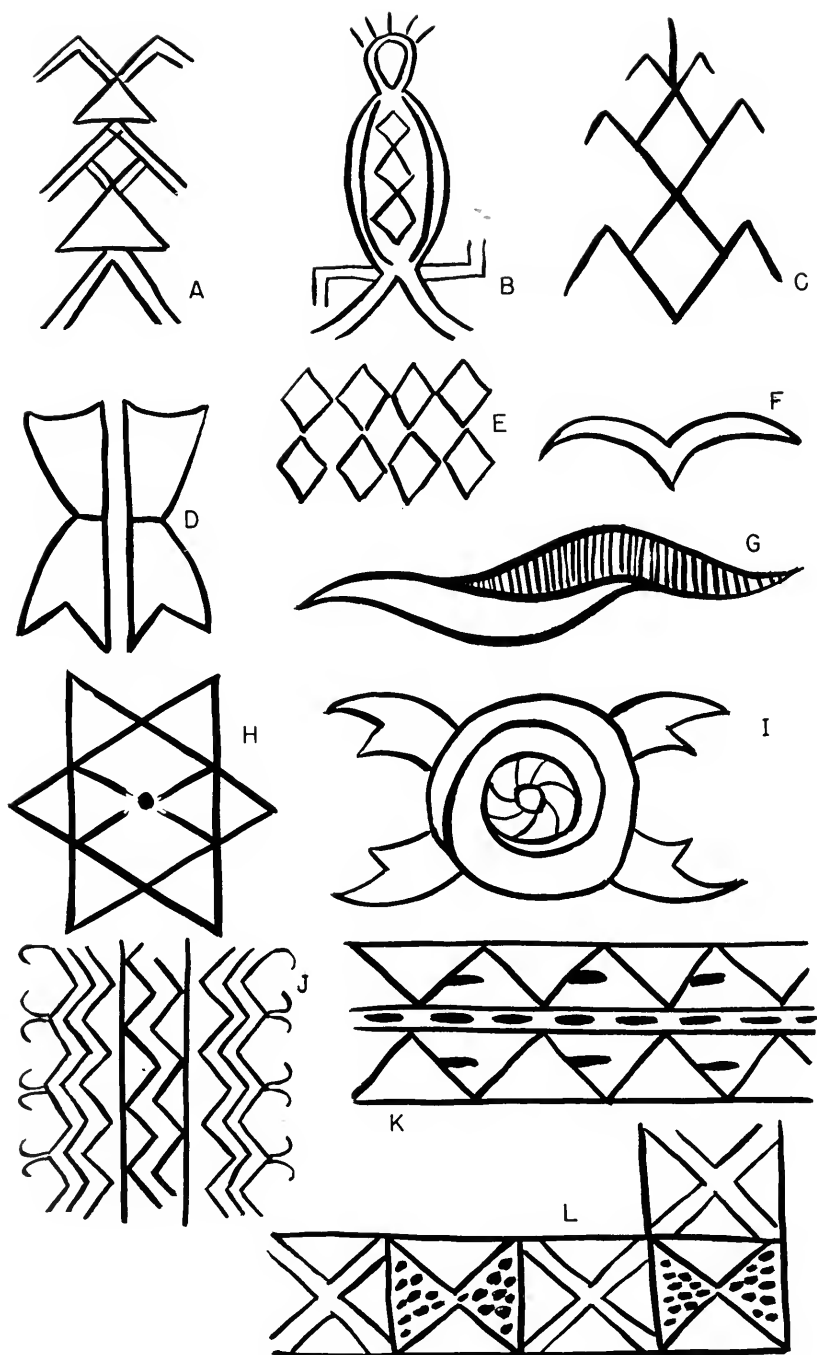


Fig. 55A. Designs in patchwork decoration.

on the surface. Frequently the bamboo containers used in connection with betel nut chewing are incised with designs similar to those seen in the garments.

Baskets rarely and mats usually have decorative effects produced in the weaving. In the mats various colored straws are intentionally used "to make the mats pretty." Old time weaving in hemp shows decorative effects produced by the "tie and dye" method, while simple designs are woven into modern cotton blankets. All these efforts apply to a very small percentage of articles in use, and the general effect is that of a very drab material culture—except for clothing. Elaborate patchwork and embroidered designs are added to jackets, trousers, skirts, shoulder and head cloths, and to men's cloth bags.

All patchwork decoration is known as *ginontiñan*, "cut out with scissors." Many designs have only pattern names which vary according to the way they are applied. For example, a zigzag pattern which runs horizontally is *sinanbilian*, but if vertical it is *linongko*. In the same manner a half-diamond design sitting on a base line has one name, but if suspended from the line it has another. Some designs are descriptive of the manner of application: a circular design is "scissor work in a circle"; a red half-diamond applied to a white field is "fits in." Embroidery in red and yellow is "colors of a mat." Pattern designs predominate, but a considerable number are realistic. Among these may be noted figures of men, women, and animals, as well as of flowers and fruits.

The design elements in figure 55, A, were interpreted as follows: A, clothing designs; B, man with bolo; C, lizard; D, *pinola* design (resembles leaves of *pinola* tree); E, zigzag; F, a bird; G, leeches; H, flower of a tree; I, embroidery design; J, design derived from back of playing cards; K, zigzag; L, panel design from handkerchief.

III. The Life Cycle

PREGNANCY AND BIRTH

Children are desired, but barrenness is not a ground for divorce since the woman's inability to bear children is due to the acts of the spirits. Sterility, apparently, is very rare and most women bear six or seven children—most of which survive infancy. One Langawan woman had 15.

Some illicit affairs take place between unmarried boys and girls, and even among married people. Public opinion, child betrothal and early marriage tend to cut the number of extra-marital adventures. No cases of prostitution—that is, where a woman exchanges her favors for gain—have been discovered.

Children are by no means innocent and sexual matters and nudity are freely discussed, despite the fact that this is one of the most completely clothed groups in the islands. In this connection certain ideas of modesty are interesting. In taking physical measurements there was no objection to touching or measuring a woman's breasts. However, it would be scandalous for any man not her husband to touch her elbow or heel. As a result few arm measurements were made.

During her menses the woman does not prepare food or take part in dances, but once her pregnancy is known she may enter into all village activities. Circumcision, as practiced by the Moros, is known but all insisted that it does not occur among the Bukidnon.

If pregnancy progresses normally the woman continues her regular daily life but if she is ill or feels undue pain a midwife is summoned to rub her abdomen and back. If this fails to relieve her it is evident that a female spirit, *Pánglang*, who lives in the mountains, is causing the trouble. This spirit is the mistress of *Mangoñoyamo*—patron of midwives and guardian of pregnant women. She also consorts with a youth called *Palilitan* who looks after new-born children. If necessary a ceremony is held in order to make these spirits well disposed and to insure an easy delivery.

The first act for the husband is to fashion a miniature cradle from the outer bark of a banana stalk. Next he catches a chicken and then hands these to a *baylan* who in turn carries them to the pregnant woman. Standing beside her he says: "Now *Pánglang*, listen and look while I make this offering. Perhaps you have made this woman ill. If so I hope she may now be

well for I am about to make a ceremony for you, to *Mangoñoyamo*, and *Palilitan*." He then fastens leaves and flowers to the little cradle. This done he sacrifices the chicken and allows its blood to fall on the leaves. He pulls out the wing feathers and puts them around the edge of the cradle, which is now a fit dwelling place for the spirit *Palilitan*. The flowers are for him to play with, for should they be lacking he will play with the baby so that it will cry.

When the chicken and rice are cooked a small portion is put on banana leaves and is placed in the cradle for *Palilitan*. The remainder is put in dishes on a mat, along with betel nut. When all is ready the *baylan* addresses the spirits: "Now *Pánglang*, *Mangoñoyamo*, and *Palilitan*, look, for I am now asking you to let the sick woman become well. Let the child inside her have no trouble and when the delivery comes let it be easy. You *Pánglang* and you *Mangoñoyamo* come and eat the food on the plates, and you *Palilitan* come also, for your share is in the cradle." After an interval the people may eat the food and chew the betel nut left on the plates, but only the pregnant woman may eat the food in the cradle. Should anyone else taste it the ceremony will be of no avail. When the ceremony is over the little cradle is hung above the woman's mat and all should go well.

When the time comes for the delivery the midwife places the woman flat on the floor of the living room and rubs her abdomen. As soon as the child is born she cuts the navel cord and removes the afterbirth. This is wrapped, first in a dirty cloth and then in a good clean cloth, "for it is the brother of the baby." It is buried under the house ladder or beneath the stove where no animals can get to it. Soon it becomes earth but its spirit returns to the sky and becomes the *Molin-olin* of the child. If the birth is difficult the midwife stands close by and calls the names of many things such as sky and trees. When the right one is mentioned the child will appear. Thus it is known which spirits are delaying the birth and offerings will be made to them.

Only a small group of women know how to act as midwives. They are called by the same name as their patron spirit—*Mangoñoyamo*. The usual pay for their services is one peso. Some neighbor who has a small child will suckle the new-born baby until the mother's milk comes.

It is said that at the time of birth *Magbabáya* talks to the child and allows it to choose how it will die. The people know that this is true, for one time long ago a pregnant woman was lying asleep on her mat when her husband returned from his work in the fields. As he was tired he lay down beside her. Suddenly he heard a child crying, and then he discovered that the voice came from the child in his wife's body. As he listened he heard a voice say: "Do you wish to die in the water?" The crying continued. "Do you wish a tree to fall on you and cause your death?" Still the child cried.

"Do you wish to fall from a cliff and die?" The child cried on. "Do you wish to die by reason of a crocodile?" The crying ceased and the voice was heard no more.

Soon the child was born and the father had such a great fear that it might be the victim of the crocodiles that he gave orders that it should never be taken to the river, and that the water for its bath must be boiled. As the child grew the father's fear became so great that he moved his family to a high hill far from the river. One day the boy lay asleep on the floor beneath his father's *talian*-charmed sash. A crocodile's tooth which was attached to the *talian* fell and struck the boy's chest. It made only a slight wound but it bled until the boy was dead. "So it is clear that we cannot escape the fate the *Magbabáya* gives us."

Should the child be ailing or should anything out of the ordinary occur soon after its birth the infant is taken to friends and is given to them. The new foster mother sacrifices a chicken and when it is ready to eat she calls the *gimokod* (spirits) of the child, asking them to come and eat and to observe that she is now the real mother. She sends a coin to the real mother "to pay for her milk." The latter must now secure a brass betel nut box or a coin necklace and must preserve it until the child is old enough to use it. These acts should restore the child to normal, and later it may be returned to its actual parents.

If a child appears to be stillborn the midwife chews betel nut and spits the red juice into the child's mouth. Then she dips her hands in cold water and places them on the child's face. If these acts fail the child is considered dead. In the Central Valley an attempt to revive a stillborn child is made by striking on a piece of iron, placed near its ear, until the iron rings.

Twins are considered "good fortune," but it is necessary to hold the ceremony *Pagalamo* within three days or the children may become jealous of each other. A child is nursed until it is quite large or until another child is born to take its place.

NAMING

The father usually gives the child a name which may be suggested by something he sees or hears at the time of its birth. A typical list of names with their meanings follows.

MEN'S NAMES

Manantōsin, "patient or willing" (a good worker).

Tampil, "can get" (will have a good fortune).

Manlapisan, "double" (will win at games or may have two wives).

Manistahon, "can hold" (will keep possessions).

WOMEN'S NAMES

Tap-piahan, "good fortune comes like waves to her hand."

Loppiigan, "will become rich by the aid of spirits."

Karaga, "little frog."

Dahilay, "supple" (will be a good dancer).

Should a child cry a great deal it is a sign that it does not like its name, and the name will be changed.

There is no restriction against a person telling his name, but when he or she has a child it is customary to say "*Amay* —," father of —; "*Inay* —," mother of —, using the name of the oldest child. This custom is widespread in Malaysia. One may never mention the name of a parent or of a father- or mother-in-law—the father-in-law is called *yo-yo*; the mother-in-law is *aya*. An offender may fall from a cliff, or be bitten by a snake, or become ill because "he fails to show proper respect for one who should be sacred to him." The rule is so strictly followed that few children know the original names of their parents. None were found who could name their grandparents.

CHILD LIFE

Children are fondled and cared for according to the best knowledge of the group. If necessary, ceremonies will be made to insure their good health, but otherwise they just grow up. They quickly begin to imitate their elders, and by the middle teens they are recognized as full members of the group. They are seldom punished, but they are laughed at if they fail to conform to the customs of the group. This usually suffices to bring the offenders into line.

Children may be betrothed as mere infants with the actual marriage taking place even before puberty. From infancy they are usually clothed in garments like their parents, but if a child appears naked no one pays any attention. As a matter of fact they strip on occasion—to go swimming or because they are hot.

Babies normally lie in the little cradle suspended from bamboo poles. They are seldom carried about as is usual in most groups. When they can walk they go around the village with their parents or with other children, and when old enough accompany them to the woods and streams.

Education is by participation. A few very crude wooden dolls have been seen but they are rare. Puppies are playfellows but the older dogs are seldom treated as pets. Boys have tops which they spin—and they have small bows and multiple-pointed arrows with which they hunt bats and frogs. They also possess miniature blowguns fitted with small darts. Little girls may have small rice mortars and pestles, winnowers and gathering baskets. Both sexes have clappers made out of sections of bamboo which

are struck against the hand; both walk on bamboo stilts; and all race and play in competitive games.

One of the few gambling games played by the older boys is called *raya*. A large square marked off in the yard is divided into nine smaller squares. About fifteen feet away is a lag line. A coin is tossed to see who plays first. The starter takes all the coins—one for each player—goes to the line and tosses the coins toward the squares. All that go in are his, all that touch lines are thrown by the second player, and so on. In a variant called *paki* each player places a coin inside the square. Then from the line they try, in order, to strike as many coins as possible with a free coin. All that the first player strikes are his; all struck by succeeding players are theirs. This continues until all the coins are taken.

When they are old enough to chew betel nut (that is, about the age of puberty) both boys and girls have their teeth mutilated, and are then considered mature. There is no other mutilation of any part of the body at any time; neither are there any initiatory rites. Mature boys—married or unmarried—may make love to unpledged girls by singing improvised songs. Dancing is important and an accomplished musician gains attention. Viewed from the standpoint of most pagan Philippine groups the child life here is neither exciting nor productive of strong individual characters.

MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE

Child betrothal and marriage are often arranged by the parents, but in the Central Valley these events are delayed until after puberty to allow the young people to have a voice. Nevertheless the two weddings attended by the writer in the latter area were: (1) that of a boy, Toltol, about 15, and a girl, Dumlay, about 10, of Bayanga; and (2) a couple from Langawan, a boy of five with a girl probably younger. In this case both children remained with their parents. Usually marriage is in one's own or a nearby village.

The general procedure is as follows: When the father of a boy thinks he has found a suitable girl for his son, he makes a small ceremony. A chicken is killed and its liver is examined; if it is enlarged or spotted the proposed match is a bad one. The family eats the fowl and the matter is dropped. If, however, the signs are favorable the father sends or carries a small gift to the girl's people. If they keep this gift they indicate that they favor the union and are ready to discuss the price the girl should bring. The standing and wealth of the families make some difference but the usual price is about 50 pesos, in addition to incidental expenses.

It is not uncommon for relatives and friends to assist in the marriage price, but this is considered a loan to be paid back later. The girl's parents

retain a part of the payment and the balance is distributed among their near relatives. If a separation occurs as a result of the girl's acts the gifts must be returned. Consequently her people keep watch for some time. We were told of one case where the girl's parents set a price greater than the boy's family could meet. No wedding took place but the young couple openly lived together. Later the youth found a girl he could afford and discarded the first. She is still unmarried and the price asked for her remains the same. No great value is placed on chastity and an unmarried girl with child is not considered a bad bargain, for in such a case no marriage price is expected.

At the time a price is agreed upon a record of the transaction is established by means of a bundle of sticks called *kit-kit* which serves as a tally. A day is set for the wedding, and relatives and special guests are invited. However invitations are generally not needed and most of the townspeople will attend. Prior to the wedding the groom's father will send a blouse, skirt, and possibly a blanket to the bride. This is a fatherly act and the objects are not considered a part of the marriage price.

On the morning of the day agreed upon part of the purchase price—including a pig, rice and a jar of liquor—is sent to the girl's house. The animal is slaughtered and food is prepared for all. At the wedding of Toltol and Dumlay the guests had assembled by two o'clock. Neither bride nor groom was in evidence—she was hidden behind a screen of blankets in one corner of the room but the groom was not in the house.

The guests danced for a time and then most of them left to bring the groom. Soon we heard the beating of a drum, and down the street came the groom's party. Preceding them were two warriors (fig. 56) armed with shields and long spears, at the upper ends of which were bell-like rattles. They danced furiously, charging and retreating, while they plunged their spears against an imaginary enemy. Following the dancers came the groom's best man carrying a cloth which covered five Chinese plates. After him was the boy's aunt, also carrying a bundle. Then came a group of friends, and, finally, the groom and two companions. The party passed the bride's place and went to a nearby house in front of which they paused until a woman emerged and joined the dancing warriors.

Soon all returned and entered the bride's home. A mat was spread and the principals for both parties sat down. Betel nut was passed and then the marriage tally was placed on the mat, together with a little knife, the purpose of which was not ascertained.

The best man laid down three coins amounting to 50 centavos and the girl's father did likewise. The tally sticks were laid down in two lines. The first consisted of ten large sticks, and the second of ten piles of two small



Fig. 56. Armed warriors dancing at wedding.

sticks each. It was announced that each large tally represented 3 pesos. The best man took up a coin, pretended to spit on it, and then mumbled a prayer to the ancestors of the couple urging them to be pleased with the match, to keep the young couple and all the guests in good health, "for this coin is your share." When he had finished he passed the coin to another friend who repeated the act. Meanwhile the girl's representatives did the same with a coin from their pile. This finished, betel nut was passed and when all had chewed, the best man took the cloth from around the Chinese plates. To these a peso was added and all were presented to the girl's ancestors—particularly to the spirit of her grandfather. This gift did not form a part of the marriage price. The plates might be used by the girl's people, but they could not lend or sell them.

With the spirit world taken care of for the moment, the parties got down to serious business. Skirts valued at a peso each were exchanged for part of the sticks; a bolo worth 3 pesos and arm-rings of equal value were also exchanged. Finally only 14 pesos of the tally sticks remained; four relatives bound themselves to pay 7 pesos and the girl's father then waived further payments. The final gift is known as "joined hands." The groom tied the tallies together and retained them as a receipt. Again betel nut was passed and then the bride was summoned from behind the blankets.

A small mat was spread for bride and groom. Lime, betel leaf and areca nut were handed to the girl, who prepared it for chewing and gave it to the boy. He did the same for her and the ceremony was complete. It is said that rice often takes the place of betel nut in the Cagayan River Valley. In the Central Valley it is used regularly. Each takes a handful of cooked rice and squeezes it into a ball and then they exchange these with each other. The use and exchange of rice or betel nut is found among many tribes in Malaysia. (See Cole, 1913, p. 102; 1922, p. 280.)

The ceremony proper being over, friends spread banana leaves on the floor; others brought in baskets of meat cut in squares and arranged it in neat piles on the leaves. Rice and dishes of broth were put in front of each guest. As a final act the bride distributed betel nut to all near her. Following the meal jars of liquor were opened, and people drank freely, dancing far into the night.

Two days after a wedding a small ceremony is held for the *gimokod* of the ancestors. The flesh of a fowl and prepared betel nut are offered while a *baylan* calls: "You *gimokod*, if you are here, this is for you. Care for the boy and girl who will live together and do not let them become ill." After the spirits have had time to eat, the family consumes the food. No outsiders attend this event.

It is customary for the boy to serve his father-in-law for a few months, in which case the couple lives with the bride's people for a time. This service may not be exacted if the man has other wives, or if he has a suitable house of his own. Recently the presidente of Mailag married a girl from Sumilao. Being a headman he could not go to serve her people, so he brought the bride's entire family to Mailag. The ultimate place of residence is optional, but is usually near the man's family.

Polygyny is allowed, but is not common even among the well-to-do. The first spouse is head wife and apparently runs the family with little friction. The procedure is the same for all marriages. Subsequent wives and their children share equally in the estate, in case of the husband's death. Certain unions are prohibited. Brothers and sisters, and cousins on both paternal and maternal sides, are forbidden to marry. A man is also prohibited from taking a daughter-in-law as his wife. He may, however, marry a sister-in-law.

Should a wife desert her husband for another man, her relatives are required to return twice the amount of the marriage price. Killing an unfaithful wife and her admirer is considered justified, but the husband seldom if ever carries out such a penalty. Cases of infidelity are usually referred to the presidente and council, who customarily demand the return of the marriage price and in addition assess a fine of about 15 pesos. The wife then is free.

The couple may separate if they do not get along well together, but there is usually strong pressure from the girl's relatives to keep this from happening. One reason for this is that if the woman is at fault the marriage gifts must be returned. The presidente and elders discuss the case and decide on the penalty, but they cannot prevent a separation if the couple is determined. The wife may have property in her own name; if so she takes it with her. The husband likewise controls what he possesses, but both must help to provide for their children. Young children usually remain with the mother, but later they are equally divided.

DEATH, BURIAL AND INHERITANCE

Immediately following a death the relatives are notified and the body is prepared for burial. The corpse is bathed, its hair is oiled and combed, and it is clothed in its best garments. If there are no children, it is proper to place all of the dead person's garments with him, but as a rule one suit suffices. In former times it was the custom to place a man's weapons in his grave, or to leave a woman's beads and trinkets with her, but this is seldom done now.

A bench known as *lantay* is constructed and when all is ready the body is wrapped in a mat and is placed on it (fig. 57). Friends and relatives clad in plain garments bring small presents of food. These are intended for the mourners but if any is left it is later placed on the grave.

The usual period between death and interment is two days. This means that the body remains in the house at least one night. This is an anxious period during which no one is allowed to sleep. Most of the mourners will put in periods of wailing, interspersed with occasional drinks from a jar of liquor. During the period that the body is in the house, some of the townspeople have been digging the grave. This is a rectangular crypt—about four feet deep—not far from the town.

The *lantay* with the body stretched on it is carried from the house preceded by a man carrying a lighted torch. This is to prevent the *gimokod* of the dead from returning to secure fire. The corpse is taken from the *lantay* and is placed in the grave. Then split bamboo tubes are laid, tile fashion, so that one end rests on the floor and the other against the side, thus preventing any soil from touching the body. After the earth is filled in, the *lantay* and torch are placed on the grave. It is said to be a good idea to place sharpened bamboo spikes on it "to keep the *busau* away."

After the burial the people return to the house to eat and drink. Three days later a ceremony known as *Mag-kataposen* is held for the *gimokod* of the dead. The family gathers, and after cooking rice and a small chicken, places this food at the top of the house ladder. One of the family, or a *baylan*, begs the *gimokod* of the dead to come and eat for the last time, be-



Fig. 57. Drinking rice wine at a funeral.

fore it goes to the afterworld. After a time the family may eat the food but the dishes used should be destroyed "as a sign that the spirit has really gone."

If the dead person is an only wife, her husband wears a black cloth around his head, but if it is a plural marriage he wears half black, half white. Old garments should be worn for a year to show proper respect for the departed. Restrictions on the wife are more severe. She wears old clothes and allows her hair to fall free for about a month, or until relatives of the dead think she has done enough. When that period is over she may put on good, but not gay, garments. For her the period of mourning lasts two years.

Finally a little ceremony called *Paglognas* is held. The blood of a small chicken is sprinkled on the head of the bereaved "as a sign that the period of sorrow is past." Rice and the flesh of the fowl are cooked and placed on the mat. Then the *Magbabáya* are urged to look to the welfare of the spouse. The *gimokod* or spirits of the person are not summoned. The similarity of the death and mourning procedures to other Malayan areas is most striking. (See Cole, 1922, pp. 289 ff.; Cole, 1945a, pp. 118, 156-157, 267.) Equally striking is the very different treatment of the dead by the nearby Manobo. (See Garvan, 1931, pp. 121-128.)

If at the end of mourning a brother of the dead man wishes to take the widow, he may do so by paying the family 6 pesos "as a sign that she still belongs to them." If a suitor appears, he must get the consent of the dead husband's family and must pay them as much as was originally paid for the widow. This would make it appear that she is the property of her husband's family. To an extent this is true, but she need not marry an outsider. If she is the only wife and there are no children, she inherits all her husband's property. If there are children, she retains one-half the estate and her children divide the balance. In case of a plural marriage all wives share equally, unless one is judged to have been unworthy. Children of all wives—boys and girls alike—share equally.

It is said that formerly, when a *dato* died, all the spirits were invited, but a special message was sent to the spirit *Tagalamboñ* to come and share in the food provided at the funeral. The spirits (*gimokod*) of a *dato* might remain nearby to care for his people, but all others dwell on Mount Balatocan.

IV. Social and Political Organization

THE DATO

Information concerning the former social and political organization is conflicting. We were told by the people in Central Bukidnon that before the coming of the Spaniards they had a principal ruler or *dato* who had the same power as is now exercised by the American governor—"when he gave orders all people obeyed." Each section also had its petty *dato*, who had a large house near which the people built their homes and had their fields. In this house lived a considerable number of retainers and fighting men in addition to the family of the ruler. In times of danger or of ceremony all the people assembled there. They worked the lands of the *dato*, but he afforded protection, and when they were assembled at his place, they were fed from his stores. Such a situation recalls that of the Bagobo of the Davao Gulf region (Cole, 1913, p. 95).

One account says that each petty *dato* showed his greatness by displaying vases—probably Chinese jars—by the possession of ornamental boxes, and by wearing the distinctive cloth crown with three upright points (Clotet, 1889, pp. 288, 297–300, 304). This is evidently the headdress of a distinguished warrior, but while it is probable that a *dato* would belong to that group, the use of that sign of distinction was not confined to the rulers. The accounts, however, do indicate that in the Central area the chief *dato* may have had a distinctive headdress. The *datos* claimed the special protection of a group of spirits—*Omalágad*, *Pamahándi*, *Tomanod*, *Molin-olin* and *Ibabasô*—who aided them in their duties. The *datos* were important functionaries in the ceremonies and were judges in all matters of dispute. If the case was a difficult one, the *dato* called in the headmen of the region and discussed it with them, and it is said that at times the dispute might go to the head *dato*. The procedure in a case is described as follows. The evidence was heard and a penalty assessed. Then the culprit and the accuser were directed to take hold of the ends of a piece of rattan, while the *dato* besought the spirits to watch. Next he directed the accused person to cut through the rattan with a single blow of his bolo (knife). If he failed it was a sign that he still had an evil mind and was unrepentant and deserving of additional punishment. If he succeeded, the accuser was directed to cut the rattan.

Failure on his part indicated that he was not satisfied with the judgment and ultimately would avenge himself.

When the *datos* were assured that justice had been done, they directed the two parties to exchange head-cloths as a sign that they agreed with the verdict. This done, the *dato* took the rattan and holding it in his hands addressed the *Magbabáya*, *gimokod* and other spirits, asking them to take notice that the parties had accepted the judgment and invoking their aid in punishing whichever one might break his promises.

Nearly all disputes were settled by fines of plates, Chinese jars, animals or money, but the ordeal was invoked at times. It is said that in the Central District thieves were sometimes clubbed to death, either by a *dato* or at his orders.

It frequently became necessary for a *dato* to send messages to other localities. To insure the safety of the messenger the *dato* lent him a long spear—called *t̃l̃ap*—with silver rings around the shaft. This sign of a friendly mission was universally respected. (See also Clotet, 1889, p. 297.)

Some informants insisted that the office of *dato* was hereditary, but others stated that it only tended to be so, and that a strong leader might be chosen by the men, even though unrelated to the ruler. It does seem certain that in the Central area the children of the *dato* were under the protection of particular spirits and made special offerings. Polygyny was allowed to all Bukidnon but seldom practiced except by the *datos*. They also had more slaves than others.

From what has been written it would appear that at least in the Central District a chief *dato* was recognized. It is certain that each settlement or area had its local *dato*. Those at a distance, as in the Cagayan Valley, were virtually independent, yet there was in general a feeling of unity among the Bukidnon. That the *dato* system was not deeply entrenched is indicated by the ease with which the American governor was able to replace it with the modern system.

Now (1910) each village has its presidente who is recognized by, and is responsible to, the American provincial governor. He is chosen by all the men, who whisper their choice to the vice presidente; he, in turn, announces the result. The presidente receives no pay, but he carries a cane as the insigne of office, and he does have considerable prestige. He is assisted by a vice presidente and a varying number of councillors, all of whom are elected by popular vote. Each Bukidnon must declare some village as his place of residence, and to it he owes a certain amount of civic labor—in town improvement or in such road work as is demanded by the governor.

The idea of authority is strongly entrenched, and the presidente carries out most of the duties and enjoys the privileges formerly belonging to the

dato. Even outside villages not yet directly under American control tend to conform to the new pattern, although the *dato* may automatically take on the title and duties of presidente.

Use of the ordeal to detect a guilty party has been mentioned. A needle is put in a pot of boiling water, and the accused is ordered to take it out. If he is innocent he will not be injured, but if guilty he will suffer burns. One may suspect that the prospect of the ordeal might lead to confessions. No such test was observed.

CRIME AND LAW

According to the old Bukidnon law code a brother might avenge the death of a brother or sister without fear of punishment. Infidelity is said to have been ample cause for the wronged husband to kill his wife or her admirer. This part of the code is not taken seriously today. It is common knowledge that the wife of a leading man of Mambwaya has lived openly at times with a man from another town, but she has neither been discarded nor has trouble followed. Several other cases of infidelity and unlawful cohabitation have come to the writer's notice but so far as can be learned there are no prostitutes. An unchaste girl, even with child, has little difficulty in finding a husband. She is not an outcast in the group, but the groom does not have to pay the usual marriage fee to her people.

Sexual freedom is prohibited to widows, but punishment comes from the spirit world. A widow may remarry but her new husband must pay her parents-in-law a sum approximately that given by them in the first place. However, a brother-in-law may take her as wife with only token payment. This clearly recognizes the family's claim, yet she is in no sense a slave or servant. This custom of the levirate is not widely distributed in the Philippines.

Land in and near to permanent settlements is owned by individuals and families. The same is true of material objects and animals, but land once abandoned can be taken up and used at will. Land offers no problem at present since the sparse population can make use of but a fraction of the land available.

When questions occur as to what is the law, they are answered by the query, "What is the custom?"

WARFARE

The writer knows of no other pagan tribe in the Philippines which today is so little interested in warfare, yet there is ample evidence that warriors were once held in high esteem. Some of the older men possess distinctive garments and headdresses which proclaim them as men of valor.

Stories told by these warriors indicate that from time to time they were compelled to withstand raids from the Moros to the west and from the Manobo and other tribes to the east and south. The Moros came in search of slaves; the "wild men" came to kill and to gain distinction as well as to secure loot and slaves. From these stories one might assume that the Bukidnon were always pacific and always victims of more aggressive tribesmen. Ultimately one learns that the prestige accruing to a successful warrior, as well as the existence of a mild form of slavery, were incentives which fostered war and raids by the Bukidnon until recent times. Even today dire necessity sometimes results in serious fights, or at least in preparations for trouble. Shortly after our stay in Dagondalahon that village was raided by renegade Moros and several were killed.

Until recent years the warrior went into battle clad in a padded sleeveless coat, over which were wound several yards of closely woven, decorated cloth. At the waist was a colored kilt or apron held by a woven belt, under which a fighting knife and sheath were slipped so that the knife might be quickly grasped with the right hand (fig. 58). The padded coat made of hemp cloth was heavy enough to stop a spear, arrow, or knife. The sash was both decorative and protective. It passed over the shoulders and encircled the body several times. The kilt was purely decorative.

There are still a few aged warriors who are permitted to wear three- or five-pointed cloth headdresses covered with embroidery (fig. 59). These signify that the owners have taken several human lives. Another distinctive head cloth, called *panditan*, trimmed with white beads, was also the mark of a successful warrior. Disaster would overtake any one who might wear such a garment unworthily. Mangabok of Bankod has such a headdress in his own right, but before the headman of Mailag, who inherited one, put it on to have his picture taken, he had to sacrifice a chicken to the rightful ancestral possessor. This custom of allowing distinctive dress for successful warriors is found among the nearby Manobo and among the Bagobo and Mandaya to the south. (See Garvan, 1931, p. 22; Cole, 1913, pp. 96, 167.)

A further protective device, worn as a part of the warrior's dress, is a charmed bandolier called *talian* which hangs on the left side after passing over the right shoulder. Figure 60 shows one taken from the dead body of a warrior who challenged the power of constabulary bullets. It is made of grass overwrapped with cloth and to it are attached shells, pigs' tusks, a magic stone, a carved dog's head and an alligator's tooth. A similar device, made largely of shells, is worn by the distinguished warrior shown in figure 59. Others which were examined contained a fungus growth and peculiar bits of wood and stone. These bandoliers are supposed to protect the wearers from the weapons of enemies. Similar charms are found among the



Fig. 58. Warrior in battle dress.

Bagobo of Davao Gulf. (See Cole, 1913, p. 108.) Clotet (1889, p. 296) says the *talian* is a little idol resembling a monkey seated on its haunches. It is carried on the breast by a cord and may be used to detect the presence of an enemy. If sick they submerge the idol in water and then drink it.

With the warrior properly clad we turn to his weapons. Each carries a long spear which is thrown or thrust—preferably the latter. He also has a fighting knife encased in a wooden sheath and he carries a shield. The usual shields are relatively long and narrow (figs. 58, 59). They are made of wood, are carried in the left hand, and are used to deflect the weapons of enemies. The raised center allows space on the reverse side for the hand grip. When not in use the shield is suspended from the shoulder by means of a carrying band. Much attention is given to the decoration of these arms. Nearly all show some carving and painting, or are inlaid with beads or mother-of-pearl. They are made locally but are similar to those used by the Moros of the Lake Lanao district.

Less common but more efficient is the round shield made of bamboo sticks radiating out from a small wooden disk. These sticks form an inflexible warp; the weft is made up of slender rattan strips which pass under one and over one of the warp elements until the shield is complete. A woven rattan edge is finally added. On the back are two wooden loops. The arm of the warrior slips under one while the hand grasps the other (figs. 54, 55).

In a bark case usually attached to the shield is a package of sharpened bamboo spikes. These are concealed in the trail with the intention of piercing the feet of a pursuing enemy. They are also placed around a camp when a party is forced to spend the night in dangerous territory. This type of device is found throughout Malaysia.

Today the spirit of the warriors is broken. They talk of former prowess, and do occasionally find it necessary to form defensive parties, but there is no evidence of militant intention. This is reflected in their modern weapons—few in number and usually poor in quality. Their forges turn out inferior blades used in agriculture. Such spears and knives as are really good are secured from the Moros. A few bows and arrows were seen in areas close to the Manobo, but they are of little interest to the tribe as a whole.

There is no remembrance of head-hunting although it was customary to cut off the arm of a slain foe as proof of a kill. The relatives of the victors were permitted to strike the trophy with their knives, after which it was hung up under the house until a ceremony could be made to *Talabosau*—the spirit who looks after warriors and angry persons. A chicken or pig was killed and its blood smeared on the *talian*. Following this offering the arm was placed near the entrance of the village to recall the bravery of the victor.



Fig. 59. Warrior with padded coat and distinctive headdress.

In the central and southern part of Bukidnon territory the writer was told of a custom, formerly followed, which appears closely related to the human sacrifice of the Davao Gulf region (Cole, 1913, p. 94; 1922, p. 372), and to the blood feuds associated with head-hunting in Northern Luzon.

According to the accounts of several older men it was the custom after a death of an adult to hold a ceremony known as *Mag-kataposen*, which con-

sisted primarily in offering food to the spirits. Following this event the wife might not comb her hair nor could the bereaved husband wear a head cloth until friends, relatives and other townspeople had gone to fight against an enemy and secured at least one victim. The head was not taken but a hand or limb would be brought back and would be hung up in a tree near the home.

If an enemy was captured, he was taken to the house of the dead and was tied to the *lantay*—the frame on which the dead had rested. The warriors then danced around the victim brandishing their spears. Finally a male relative speared the victim to death. In the celebration which followed, animals were slaughtered and much liquor was drunk. Old-time Bukidnon warriors in the Cagayan Valley denied that they ever practiced this sacrifice, but agreed that the others did.

In a preceding paragraph mention was made of *Talabosau*, the patron of the warriors. He also cares for those who are seized with a frenzy and run amuck. This type of hysteria follows a typical pattern and is not uncommon. During our stay in Bukidnon a man in the neighboring village was lying on the floor, with his head in his wife's lap, while she loused him. Suddenly he sprang up, seized his knife and killed her. Her father hearing the commotion ran in and he likewise was killed. Neighbors seized the frenzied man and threw him to the floor. Then a live chicken was torn apart and the bloody flesh and feathers were forced into his mouth. With this he fell asleep. When he awoke he explained that the spirit had possessed him and directed his actions. He said he loved his wife and had no grudge against his father-in-law.

Several other rather recent cases were recalled, but the one with the most impressive results took place not far from the new Provincial capital, Malaybalay. A man in frenzy met and killed two boys on the trail. His explanation of possession satisfied the Bukidnon but not the American governor, who had him jailed until the next session of court. When the killer was brought before the judge from the coast, the latter started to speak to him. As he did so he pointed his finger at the prisoner and the latter dropped dead. The account of this event was given to the writer by Governor Lewis, who stated that "running amuck" had dropped to zero since this display of judicial power or magic.

SLAVERY

Discussion of warfare leads to the subject of slavery, for this and the death observances appear to have been responsible for most of the hostile raids. Women and children from distant towns were captured and were either incorporated into the family circle or were sold. A good strong boy brought about 30 pesos. A child thus secured served for life and passed as



Fig. 60. Protective bandolier called *talian*.

property upon the death of his master. He could marry and custom decreed that his master must provide a mate. The children of such a union were free. Often a female slave was accepted as a member of her owner's family. If she bore him children both she and the offspring were free. A master who mistreated his slaves would find himself in ill repute and public opinion is strong. This mild form of servitude resulted in the incorporation of foreign elements into the population and probably accounts for the considerable amount of negroid blood observed.

Although this section is written in the past tense servitude still continues to a limited extent. Two cases were brought to the attention of the writer while he was living in the village of Mambwaya.

V. The Spirit World

Any attempt to understand or to describe the spirit world results in great confusion. The investigator learns of a spirit—its name, attributes, place of residence and other details—then suddenly it may appear to be several spirits. The account which follows is, I believe, an accurate picture of what the average Bukidnon believes and understands. The special knowledge of the *baylans* is noted in each instance where it exceeds or contradicts the usual pattern of belief.

The Bukidnon recognizes three classes of spirits. First to be noted are the *gimokod*—the spirits of all men living or dead. Second are the *Alabyánon*—a division which includes most of the powerful spirits. Finally come the *Kaliga-ón*, sixteen powerful beings which are represented at certain ceremonies by well-known symbols. They keep watch over the affairs of men and warn offenders by sending illness. The harvest ceremony is held in their honor, although other spirits appear at that time. In addition to these three classes, the *baylans* sometimes mention a fourth, made up of unfriendly spirits called *busau* or *bal-bal*. Actually it seems that they should be included under the *Inkanto*, the second group of *Alabyánon*.

THE BAYLANS

Most traffic with the spirit world is through or with the aid of the *baylans*—a group of men or women who claim the ability to discover the cause of sickness. They also know how to conduct ceremonies acceptable to the spirits. It is said that the first *baylan* was taught by *Molin-olin*, the spirit of his afterbirth brother (see p. 69), who for this reason is considered a patron and guide. Two other spirits, *Ongli* and *Domaloñdoñ*, also appear to the *baylan* and usually assist in determining the cause of the trouble. The *baylans* do not form a priesthood, although they are a definite group. Should one of them be visiting in a village where a ceremony is in progress he or she assists as a matter of course.

A person becomes a *baylan* as a matter of choice, and not because he is called or warned by the spirit world. He goes to a recognized *baylan* and acts as his understudy for several months, during which time he receives other special training. The writer watched a teacher and pupil over a considerable period of time. The *baylan* (fig. 61) would spread a mat and on it

place kernels of corn in a row. These represented spirits whose names and attributes were repeated many times until the pupil had memorized them perfectly. Next the instructor described the ceremonies and the things to be done in each. Then followed the songs, many of which contain obsolete words.

It is said that some *baylans* possess special gifts or powers, such as the ability to go to the sky and talk with the spirits there, but in general the content of their training and their competence is similar. The field notes which contain data from a number of *baylans* in various parts of the Bukidnon area show a surprising agreement in names and duties for a bewildering number of spirits. Likewise the ceremonies vary but little from town to town.

A pupil pays for his instruction. For example, the ranking *baylan* of the village of Langawan claims to have paid his teacher nine pesos, eight chickens, one Chinese plate and a small knife.

The *baylans* must conduct the *Kaliga-ñn* ceremony and they usually officiate at all major events where the spirits are summoned. (However, minor offerings may be made by anyone "who knows how to talk to the spirits.") Payment for their services is small and varies, according to the spirits summoned, from a few pennies to a peso. In addition they receive six packages of cooked rice, half of a pledged chicken (*ipo*), and all the rings and beads used in the ceremony.

The customary way of ascertaining the cause of trouble or the name of the spirit responsible for illness is for the *baylan* to measure a spear. He holds the weapon horizontally in front of him and measures the span of his arms on it. This is marked by tying a cord on the shaft which is then stuck into the floor. Betel nut is prepared for chewing and is placed on the floor. The *baylan* seats himself before it and addresses the proper spirit. (This differs according to the ceremony.) The substance of the prayer is an appeal for the speedy recovery of the patient, and for power to determine the cause of the illness. Finally he pleads, "If the sickness is caused by so-and-so I ask you to let the measurement on the spear be extended." He rises and again measures the span of his arms. If it is the same as before, the spirit named is not responsible, but if it has increased it is a sign that the right spirit has been found. In any case the measuring is continued until the cause is determined.

The various activities of the *baylan* appear in connection with the discussion of the spirit world and description of the ceremonies. It is important to note that the *baylans* are not "mediums" in the sense that is usual among Malayan peoples. They carry out many of the duties of the mediums, but their bodies are not possessed by the superior beings. They do not appear to be unstable characters as is so common among the mediums of the



Fig. 61. *Baylan* and pupil.

nearby Manobo or of Malaysia in general. (See Garvan, 1931, p. 29; and Cole, 1945a, index entries.)

The number of *baylans* in the towns varies greatly. In the village of Langawan there are six, namely: Mangontawál, Amaydolona, Amaylania, Amaydayano, Salilo and Sampayan.

THE SPIRITS

The Gimokod

In our discussion of spirits we deal first with the individual Bukidnon. Each person has seven spirits called *gimokod*: one jumps on the cliff; one swims in the water; one puts its hands into snake holes; one sits under a tree; one is always walking around; one is awake in the day; one is awake in the night. If all are in his (or her) body at the same time, he is well and strong, but if one or more are wandering or get into trouble, the owner becomes ill. Should all the *gimokod* leave the body at one time death results.

This idea of multiple spirits leads to several unusual practices, among which "soul catching" is of special importance. (For a full discussion of this idea among other tribes of Malaysia, see Cole, 1913, p. 105; and 1945a, pp. 190-191.) When a person becomes thin or ailing with no apparent reason, it is evident that at least one of his *gimokod* is wandering. It then becomes necessary to hold the *Pagalono* (*Pag-gimokod*) ceremony, to cause

its speedy return—otherwise it may meet with disaster, and its owner will fall sick or die, or at least become disabled.

A small chicken is killed and prepared for food, but its legs and feet are removed, for those might encourage the *gimokod* to wander. It is then placed on a dish of cooked rice. A mat is spread near the patient and on it are placed the food, prepared betel nut and a betel nut box. The *baylan* addresses the spirits: "Now I call you, *gimokod* of this man which is walking about; and you *gimokod* which sits under a large tree; and you *gimokod* which jumps on the cliff; and you *gimokod* which swims in the water; come here and eat, you are hungry. Return now to the body of this man. Now enter the betel box." Suddenly he snaps the lid of the box, as he cries, "This is the sign that I will not let you go, for I fear you may be frightened by falling trees or rolling stones." The people eat the food and chew the betel nut, but the spirit is left imprisoned until next morning. At that time the *baylan* places the betel box on the patient's head and says, "*Gimokod* of this man, I want you to return so that he may become well again. Do not walk any more. Let him become fat."

When a man dies his seven *gimokod* merge into one which, after the *Mag-kataposen* ceremony, goes to live on Mount Balatocan. "We know that this is what happens, for our ancestors have taught us to call only one *gimokod* of the dead, so that must be all there are." In this new home the *gimokod* are under the care of the spirit *Gomogõnal* (see under *Alabyánon*, p. 95). There they have houses, plant crops, and live much as they did on earth. The home of the *gimokod* is said to be a happy place where there is no trouble, and people have clear minds. Despite this promise of a happy hereafter, every effort is made to delay entrance to the land of the dead. The dead do not die again, neither do they return to earth in any other form. However, they do visit the living although they may not be seen. They have power to injure the living so it is always a good idea to offer them food and to pray to them at the time of ceremonies. In some instances they cause illness. When this occurs the victim can see the *gimokod*.

Such offerings raise the question of ancestor worship. Regard is paid to the *gimokod* of the dead, as just noted. The ancestors are also called upon at the time of a wedding, but such attentions are on a minor scale. In only one area—close to the Manobo—is a major ceremony held in their honor. (See planting time at Limbayao, p. 53.)

Related to the person, but not one of his *gimokod*, is the *Molin-olin*, the spirit of the afterbirth. It is said by some that if a person has been very bad while on earth the spirit *Gomogõnal* may put him in a burning hill, called *Dildilosan*, where he is consumed. It may be suspected that this idea has come about through contact with the Bisayan.

The Alabyánon

The second and in many respects the most important class of spirits is known as *Alabyánon*. This is at once subdivided into the *Magbabáya* and "natural spirits," the latter including the spirits which live in trees, cliffs, water and the like. Here also appear the spirit owners of animals and certain guardians or patrons. These are again divided so that those of the immediate locality have individual names.

Ranking above all others are six powerful *Magbabáya*, while a few other *Alabyánon* are ranked as lesser members of that group. So powerful are these beings and so great is the awe of them that even the *baylans* fear to mention their names without making an offering, and even then the name is given only in a whisper. In general they are addressed in honorific terms, which makes their identity even more difficult for the investigator to discover.

Standing high above all others is *Magbabáya nang-gomo tilokan nanilampu*, "*Magbabáya* most powerful of all; destroyer of all competitors." He usually is identified as *Migloginsal* or *Agobinsal*, the creator of the earth. He is also addressed as *Lintowangan nanlimlag diwata nangaroyan balos sa nanggantian*, "the spirit who made trees, stones and people," or simply as *Diwata Magbabáya* or *Apo*, "Sir." This all-powerful spirit lives in a house made of coins, high in the sky. There are no windows in his home, for should men or stones or trees see him they would at once dissolve into water. His name is never used in conversation and is only taught to the new *baylan* after a long period of probation. When questioned about this spirit one old woman *baylan* became very ill. She showed great distress, vomited and appeared near collapse. Only the application of "powerful medicine" by the writer brought her out of the spell, but she could not be induced to continue the discussion. The ranking *baylan* of Langawan, named Amaydolona, was finally persuaded that all the facts about this spirit should be recorded. In evident fear he addressed the spirit, asking his pardon. He then gave his name in a voice only a little above a whisper. Soon he also developed stomach pains and had to be treated. This attempt to learn the details about the spirits was not made until we had been with the Bukidnon some time and had obtained their confidence. It is probable that an early inquiry would have stopped the work completely.

The second *Magbabáya*, only slightly inferior to the first, is known as *Magbabáya tominápáy* or *Diwata na-nápáy tomas a nipirau*, "the spirit who lives under the earth and supports it with his hands."

Next in power are the *Magbabáya* at the four cardinal points. The earth is shaped like a saucer, and the sky is the same in form, but its concavity is toward the earth. These *Magbabáya* live at the points where earth and sky

meet. The spirit in the east is *Magbabáya imbatu*, "spirit of the sun." He is not the sun, but there is a hazy idea that the sun is a male spirit who serves the *Magbabáya*. The spirit in the west is *Magbabáya Lindoñ-an*, "spirit of the place where the sun hides." In the south is *Magbabáya Pagosan*, "spirit of the place whence the waters come." Nearly all the rivers in this section flow from the south—"so the water lives in the south and goes to the north." Finally comes the spirit of the north—*Magbabáya Tipónan*—"spirit of the place where the waters unite," i.e., the ocean.

Clotet (1889, p. 294) gives the four gods at the cardinal points as *Domalongdog*, *Ongli*, *Tagalambong* and *Magbabáya*. The first two, according to our information, are the patrons of the *baylans*. He calls *Magbabáya* "The All Powerful One."

In Langawan the *baylans* also recognize as very powerful *Magbabáya minúmsôb togáwa nangalangan*, "the spirit who protects people and who foresees events." He lives straight above in "the sky easily visible." He is the grandfather of *Malibotan*, the spirit of the *Kasabôahán* ceremony. It is said that the *Magbabáya* live in houses like those of the Bukidnon except that they are made of silver.

A second group of *Alabyánon* is known as *Pamahándi*. In general the *Pamahándi* are spoken of and are addressed as a single individual. He is said to be the spirit who cares for horses and carabao and who sends good fortune. In such a capacity he is often recognized as one of the lesser *Magbabáya*. Closer acquaintance with this being reveals that he is not one but ten—each with a definite name and specific duties. Their names are *Pamahándi púti*, *Pamahándi lansion*, *Pamahándi biohon*, *Pamahándi sîgolón*, *Pamahándi hagsálan*, *Pamahándi boñau*, *Pamahándi opos*, *Pamahándi logdangon*, *Pamahándi komagargas*, *Pamahándi somágda*. Not all of these names are recognized in the Central Valley, but there is agreement as to the number and duties. As protectors of the horses and carabao and as senders of good fortune, they are much respected and some time during each year each family will make a ceremony to obtain their good will. Despite their good qualities, however, they may cause trouble and send sickness, such as carache or consumption.

Another multiple spirit, often ranked as a lesser *Magbabáya*, is *Bulalákau*, the spirit or spirits of the water. They have their home in the center of the sea but they also frequent springs, streams and rivers. They are sometimes spoken of collectively as *Talawahig*, "dwellers in the water." One of these spirits is responsible for drowning. He pulls a person down, takes out his spirit, and throws the body to the surface. "We know that this is true for when the body is recovered the spirit is gone." *Bulalákau* properly belongs to the group of nature spirits known as *Inkanto*, and he is often addressed with others in that division.

Particular spirits, classified as *Alabyánon* but not easily fitted into regular groups, are: First, *Molin-olin*, the spirit of the afterbirth. When a child is born a spirit "brother" is likewise born. When its body is buried and becomes earth the spirit goes to the sky, where it lives and watches over its living brother. It never dies. "We do not know how it lives, but its home is straight above and it swings, maybe in a cradle—for the prayer taught us by our ancestors and used by the *datos* when they act as judges starts with 'Now my *Molin-olin* who is swinging high up in the sky.' " Spirits two and three, *Domaloñ-doñ* and *Ongli*, are patron spirits of the *baylans* and of *datos* who act as judges. They should be asked to give "a clear mind." Four and five are *Panglang* and her servant *Mangoñoyamo*. These are female spirits who care for midwives, pregnant women, and unborn children. (See *Panglang* ceremony, pp. 68-9.) Number six is *Palilitan*, a young male spirit for whom the miniature cradle is hung over a new-born child. It is his duty to protect the infant from sickness and danger. He is a servant of *Panglang*, but is not recognized by the *baylans* of the Central Valley. Number seven, *Gomogónal*, is the spirit of a man who lived in the "first times." He now has his home on Mount Balatocan where he looks after the spirits (*gimokod*) of the dead. He is regarded as a true member of the *Alabyánon*. Number eight, *Talabosau*, is the patron of the warriors and of people who run amuck. Nine, ten and eleven consist of *Omalágad*, patron of the hunters and their dogs. (In the *Panalikot* ceremony he is recognized as chief of the spirits of the rocks, cliffs and trees. It is said that he is as powerful as *Bulalákau*.) With him is his aid, *Magománay*, who lives in the high mountains. He is the real owner of the deer and wild hogs. (Here we find a conflict among the *baylans*, some of whom insist that the latter spirit belongs to the *Inkanto* division, and that he is one of two spirits which live in the *baliti* trees.) The third spirit associated with *Omalágad* is *Dumarahol*. The name *SalikÉt* is often applied to all three. Number twelve is *Amimisol*, who cares for the chickens. Should the fowls of a village be ailing a hen is made *ipo*, that is, pledged, to this spirit. If this fails to make things right some of the eggs or one of the chickens of the *ipo* bird are destroyed. In the Central Valley this spirit is thought to care for domestic pigs as well as fowls. Thirteen, an important spirit in the Cagayan Valley but not recognized in the Central area, is *Malibotan*. He is said to be the grandchild of *Magbabáya minúmsōb*. Together with his grandfather he oversees married couples. For them each family holds a yearly ceremony known as *Kasabōahán*, "union." Number fourteen, the final spirit in this category, is *Aguio*. Once a man famed for his bravery as a warrior, he is now a spirit who lives on earth and sometimes attends the *Kaliga-ōn* ceremony. He also appears in the folk tales.

A group of seven *Alabyánon* appear as servants to the *Kaliga-ōn*. Their names are given to clarify their place when and if they are called during

the ceremony. These are *Holīdon* or *Holoyōdon*; *DEgbasōn*; *Pamogya-on*; *Lumolúmbak kobáybay*, *dato malabīdaya*, "the pilot when the *Kaliga-ōn* make trips"; *Mayakī lioban*; *Mayakī batásan* or *kompásan*; and *Mayakī lombáran*.

The "nature spirits" are lesser *Alabyánon*. Among them *Bulalákau* is listed although he is usually considered as a lesser *Magbabáya*. General names such as *Tagabōgta*, "lives in or on the earth," or *Tagumbanua*, for those living near a town, are often applied. It is said that their chief lives on a mountain called *Baboñan* but the others live everywhere. Among them is *Tao sa salup*, "man of the forest."

A more specific name for these nature spirits is *Inkanto* but the term *busau* is also used. It is said that the *Inkanto* have only half a face; the body is complete but many of them walk on their hands with their heads hanging down and their feet up. Some have fur on their bodies but the hairs are sharp like needles.

Of great importance among the *Inkanto* are the *Tagahílum*, "dwellers in silence," and *Magománay*, "spirits which live in the *baliti* trees," and perhaps all other large trees. These are their homes and if they are cut down the spirits must move. Such spirits are important in the ceremonies and in the everyday life of the people, as well. Close to them are the *Lalawag*, spirits who live in groves and who own deer and bees. *Tagadaláma* are spirits living in the cliffs. Some are poor, and when men fall and are killed they steal their clothing. *Tagabato* (or *tao sa bato*) are the possessors of all large stones.

Listed with the "nature spirits" are the *Ibabasō*, the spirits who live in the fields and care for the crops. A yearly ceremony is made for them and they are also closely identified with the *Kaliga-ōn*. They appear to be more powerful than any of the *Inkanto* just mentioned, and are held in great reverence. They probably stand apart from that grouping.

Clotet (1889, p. 294) mentions a spirit *Ibabasug* who is invoked in childbirth. According to him *Tagumbanua* is god of the fields to whom the *Kaliga* ceremony is dedicated.

Finally we come to the local spirits. Every cliff, strange stone, spring and brook has its resident spirit. Each has its name which is known to the villagers. A partial list was compiled for each village, but these appear to have no significance beyond demonstrating the multiplicity of locally-known spirit beings.

The Kaliga-ōn

The third and last class of spirits is the *Kaliga-ōn*, made up of sixteen powerful spirits who dwell in high hills or mountains, particularly in volcanoes. The sixteen are: (1) *Dagingōn*, (2) *Korongon*, (3) *Liga-ōn*, (4) *Bontiálon*, (5) *SEgkarōn*, (6) *Laulau-ōn*, (7) *SapawEn*, (8) *Linankōban*, (9) *Masauba-*

sau, (10) *Tagalamboñ*, (11) *Hinolóban*, (12) *Sayobánban*, (13) *Moyoñ-boyoñ*, (14) *Gologóndo*, (15) *Lantangón*, (16) *Tambolón*. All are powerful but *Gologóndo* and *Tagalamboñ* appear to lead the others, with *Lantangón* and *Hinolóban* following.

Certain objects which belong to, or represent, these beings must always be used in the ceremonies they attend.

Two or three sticks tied horizontally and called *dagingón* belong to the first six named. Four sticks tied in the same manner are also called by this term, but this number is reserved for *SapawEn*.

Basket-like receptacles made of tiny bamboo tubes are filled with leaves and contain part of a pig's skull. These are known as *goloñ-goloñ* and are for spirits nine to fourteen inclusive.

Lantangón is represented by a small carved figure, while a single bamboo tube is reserved for *Tambolón*.

A "table" made of wooden disks slipped on a *salaban* stick is prepared for the four strongest spirits. The detailed use of these devices is given in connection with the *Kaliga-ón* ceremony.

The term *diwata* is often applied to the *Magbabáya* and *Kaliga-ón*, but never to the lesser *Alabyánon*, or to the spirits of the dead. A title, *tomitíma*, "lives," which may be applied to any spirit is frequently heard in the ceremonies.

Clotet (1889, p. 295) describes a stone idol called *tighas* which he says descended from the sky and is possessed only by *datos*. Today a few peculiar stones, called *tighas a kílát*, "teeth of the lightning," are in the possession of the Bukidnon. These stones are said to have fallen where lightning has struck. They are powerful in stopping violent storms, for if one is laid outside, the rain will cease. No other objects by this name could be found. The same writer (p. 296) also describes wooden figures of monkeys called *talian*. That name is now given to the charmed bandolier worn by noted warriors, which may contain various objects.

Fowls and animals belonging to the spirits are sometimes referred to in the ceremonies, and occasionally offerings consisting of refuse are put out for them, but they are not considered to be spirits. On several occasions the writer was told that the earth rests on two huge serpents, male and female, called *Intombangol*, who lie so as to form a cross. Their mouths are below the water at the point where earth and sky meet. When they move they cause earthquakes; when they breathe they cause the winds; if they pant they cause violent storms. They do not fall for they are held up by *Magbabáya tominapay*. There seems to be no general agreement about these beings, but some *baylans* think they should be classed as lesser *Alabyánon*.

In an earlier section mention was made of the spirits of the *baliti* (*Ficus* sp.) trees. These trees are held in reverence by nearly all Mindanao tribes,

partially because of their size and partially because they "bleed" when cut, and also because nothing grows beneath them. If a piece of land is to be cleared and it becomes necessary to cut down one of these trees, the owner of the field will go alone and cut a sapling. He strips off the bark and leaves and leans the pole against the *baliti* tree. Then he addresses the spirits as follows: "If there is a man living in this tree, here is wood for you to use as a sign. If you are unwilling that I cut this tree, throw this wood away. If it pleases you to have this tree cut down, then leave this pole where it is." He then goes home. Next day he returns and if the stick has fallen or has disappeared it signifies that the spirit is unwilling. If the stick is still in place, the spirit gives consent. Then the owner says, "Now I am going to cut the *baliti* tree right away. If the owner is still here, please go to that other tree." Often he prepares betel nut for the spirit and places it at the foot of the tree as he says, "You man of this tree, go away, for we are going to cut it down so that we can clear our field. You must not be angry with us when we destroy your house for here is your payment. Come and chew and do not be angry."

Closely related to the acts just cited is a minor ceremony called *Magibabasó*. At the time a clearing is to be made in the forest the owner goes to the chosen spot accompanied by several friends. They carry rice, chicken eggs, betel nut and liquor. A seat is constructed and the chickens are tied beneath it. Betel nut prepared for chewing is placed on it and the owner of the field addresses the spirits of the stones, *baliti* trees, vines, cliffs, and of any holes that may be in the field. He also calls on *Magbabáya* and *Ibabasó*: "Now do not be angry with me because we are about to clear this land; do not be surprised or offended for we are going to kill some chickens and let you eat rice, drink *agkEd*, and eat meat. When we go to plant, let the seed bear a good crop." All the people present blow upon the chickens and then kill them.

While the food is being prepared some of the people begin the clearing of the land while others build a *balábag*. When all is ready food is placed on the seat and the workers are summoned. Again the owner summons the spirits. He invites them to eat, and having done so, to be satisfied and not injure those who would use the land.

VI. The Ceremonies

It will have been observed that offerings and minor ceremonies are of such regular occurrence that it becomes purely arbitrary when certain observances are singled out for discussion under "ceremonies."

Many acts are performed in connection with agriculture, and others at various times in the life cycle, which clearly are ceremonies. Even the building of a house or the cutting of certain trees requires the services of one or more *baylans* who make offerings to members of the spirit world.

The following somewhat special ceremonies were witnessed one or more times during the months spent in Bukidnon. (Among other important observances are *Pagalono* or *Pag-gimokod*, *Mag-kataposen* and *Pagalogas*.) It is possible that others take place but that is doubtful, for the *baylans* had become anxious to have even the most minute details recorded for the book "which their grandchildren might read and come to know the customs of their ancestors."

PANGAMPO

This is a community affair held when an epidemic, such as cholera or smallpox, threatens; or when locusts invade the area or other disasters seem imminent. The headman (*dato* or *presidente*) summons all the people to a general meeting. The danger is stated and a day is set when all will assemble, each bearing gifts for the spirits whose help is sought. On the appointed day packages of cooked rice tied in fresh banana leaves are placed in a pile near a large mat. Chickens are tied to stakes nearby to await the time of sacrifice. On the mat are betel nuts, leaves and lime ready for chewing.

All the people of the village gather around while the *baylans* call first to the *gimokod* of the dead, then to the *Magbabáya* and the *Alabyánon* and especially to the *Bulalákau*, god of the water.

The *gimokod* are urged to assist them in addressing the *Magbabáya* so that they will avert the threatened danger and be pleased to grant good crops. Each animal which is to be slaughtered is passed from hand to hand so that everyone may blow on it. Meanwhile the *baylans* beseech the *Magbabáya* to watch and listen to their pleas and to keep the pests away. The *Alabyánon*

are urged to "form a wall about them" (i.e., surround them) and persuade those who carry illness not to approach the town. When finally they have made a special plea to *Bulalákau* the killing of animals begins.

Preparations have been started early in the day but it is nightfall before all the food is ready to be spread on mats in the center of a large house. A jar of liquor (*agkEd*, fermented rice wine) is placed in the center and around this fresh banana leaves are laid to serve as plates. The packages of cooked rice previously prepared are opened and meat is placed on each. The spirits like decorations, so a cord is stretched along each side of the room and on it good clothes and blankets are hung. These are not gifts.

All is ready and at this juncture everyone addresses the spirits, "Now you *gimokod*, *Magbabáya* and *Alabyánon*, approach for it is time to eat what we have prepared. We ask you to help us in averting this trouble. You can drive it from this town. We also wish to ask that no other trouble may come to us and that we may have successful lives. You now surround this town, so do not let anything strange come to us." The prayer or its substance is repeated many times. Finally the leader bids each person to put his food into the large baskets so that it may be re-divided. Equal shares are given to every person there, including visitors. Most of them eat at once, but they may carry their portions home if they wish.

PANALIKOT OR OMALÁGAD

When a person is ill and the cause has not been determined a *baylan* is called. His actions are similar to those described under the *Kaliga-ón* ceremony, but since it differs in part it is given as witnessed.

A *baylan* came, and after placing the spear on the floor, he put *tinalad* beside it and prayed to the *Magbabáya*, "Please help me to ask the spirit who holds the *babala-on* [spear]. Let the spirits of the old *baylans* come and watch my work for this is a sick man here whom I am going to *bala-on* [i.e., learn the cause of his sickness]. What kind of illness has the man?" Then addressing the spear, the *baylan* said, "You spear, I want you now to tell me the truth; you must not lie. Let me know what sickness this man has." He measured one span of his arms on the spear and then stuck it into the floor after having marked the distance on the shaft. Then he said, "Now perhaps the man has been made ill by the *Salikot*, or some other spirits [the *Salikot* are not spirits but are the articles owned by certain spirits as described on p. 101]. If that is true, let the measurement be extended." He again measured and found that he was able to increase his span. As the *Salikot* had been mentioned, it was decided that they caused the sickness. Then addressing the spirit, he said, "Whey! If it is true that the *Salikot* has caused the sickness I want that the man now be well, for now I will cut the comb of a chicken [*ipo*]. Here is a red chicken and a dog

which I am going to *ipo* [i.e., pledge] so that this man may be well. Tomorrow he should be all right for I will prepare the things necessary for the ceremony." He then cut a small piece out of the comb of the rooster and poured a little water on the dog while he said, "Let the sick man be well for I *ipo* the dog. Now I want the *Omalágad* to come here and listen to me for I will *ipo* the dog." (If this takes place before harvest time, the ceremony will not be held until after the crops are gathered, otherwise it will be held as soon as the things can be prepared.) Liquor was prepared and chickens and rice were reserved for the celebration which followed.

On the morning of February 3 (1910) all the people of the town who were under promise to make this ceremony and a few of their friends went to a large *baliti* tree in the forest. (Anyone who desires may go with them but no one may return to the town for three days; neither may anyone go to the place where the ceremony is held after it is begun. All trails leading to the place are closed—i.e., long grass with a knot tied near the end is placed along the trail and should anyone pass the warnings, and approach the forbidden spot, a spear is immediately hurled at him, and should it result in injury or death the person who threw it is not considered at fault and may not be punished. In the old times, even fighting parties would respect this sign. (Recently, it is said, a relative of the sick man approached after the ceremony had begun, and a spear was hurled at his feet, "not to kill him, but to observe the old custom.") All the necessary things were put at the foot of the tree and while the women prepared and cooked the rice, the men made a little platform (*banko*) against the trunk of the tree. During the ceremony, the participants never call the *baliti* tree by its name, but speak of it as *la-kog*, because that is the name by which it is known to the spirit *Omalágad*. A little ladder is placed against the *banko* so that it leads from it up to the leaves of the tree, where the spirit of the tree lives. This ladder must be placed bottom up "because it will then be right for the spirit who is coming down." The horns of a buck deer are joined with boar tusks and about them is wrapped any strange vine, as for instance one found growing through a hole in a tree or one tying itself in a knot. At any time other than the ceremony, those objects are known as *salikot* but during the ceremony they are known as *osig*.

The *baylan* then addressed the spirits, "Now *Omalágad* [a spirit whose home is unknown; he is a powerful *Alabyánon* who is chief of the spirits of rocks, cliffs, and trees, and by some said to be the patron of the hunters who cares for the dogs. His power is equal to that of the chief *Bulalákau*], *Magbabáya* and all the *Alabyánon*, come and see me while I am killing these chickens." He put the blood of the chicken on the *ipo* dog and on the *osig*, saying, "Perhaps the man was sick because he was injured by those pig

tusks; I want him to be all right because now I put blood on them. Now I am putting blood on the vine, because it winds, for maybe the vine has made him sick. If these horns have caused the illness, I want the man to be well for I am putting the blood here." A *balábag* (p. 98) was built and the feathers and entrails of the fowls put on it. The rice when cooked was covered with banana leaves and the cooked chicken was placed in a dish. All of this together with liquor and prepared betel nut was placed on the *banko*. The packages of rice were opened and some meat placed on them. A spear was placed beside the *banko*, leaning against the tree, and the *osig* hung beside it. Then the spirits were again summoned, first *Magbabáya*, second *Mago-manay*—a spirit subject to *Omalágad*, owner of the deer and wild hogs—third *Omalágad*, and finally a general invitation was given to all *Alabyánon* to come and eat. When time had been given for the spirits to finish the people ate. When they had finished, the man who had been ill fastened the *osig* over his shoulder, canteen fashion, and accompanied by all the men and boys and the *ipo* dog, started out to hunt. The girls and women remained under the *baliti* tree. The men may not return until they have captured a pig or deer or until the end of three days. During their absence the women may not sleep, for if they do the dogs will lose all interest in the chase. If they play the dogs will also play and be worthless. They can speak only in low tones for the spirit of the *baliti* tree—*tagahilum*, "dweller in silence"—is angered by loud noises or harsh sounds. In this particular ceremony the men failed to secure any game.

When the hunters are successful, they return to the tree, and after singeing the game, remove the intestines and cut up the animal. The head is hung on the tree and the rest of the meat is prepared for food. *Tinalad* (prepared betel nut) is added to the food and all is offered to the same spirits as before. "Now *Omalágad* you must come because we have here a wild pig [or deer]. Look at this dog and let him always get the wild pig [or deer]. When you have eaten, chew the *tinalad*." After the spirits have finished, the people divide the food and eat; none of it can be carried home, except the head, which may be taken at the end of the ceremony. They remain quietly at the tree until the customary three days have passed, after which they return to their homes.

The *ipo* dog is not killed, for it now belongs to *Omalágad*. The former owner cares for it but cannot sell it. Should anyone injure the dog, he will become ill in the same region in which the dog was injured.

PAGÍLIS OR PAMLIWAS

This ceremony was witnessed several times. There were minor variations yet all were so similar that a detailed account of one held in the vil-

lage of Manigi (on February 16, 1910) gives the essential details. A man who had a severe attack of fever failed to recover his strength so a *baylan*, an old woman, was called to conduct the *Pagf̃lis* ceremony. Two chickens were caught (a pig is often used) and tied; then *tinalad* was prepared and put beside them, and the *baylan* summoned many spirits (calling them by name) to come and see what they were about to do. She cut the throats of the chickens and allowed the blood to fall on the leaves in a dish. These she took to the sick man, and while two girls held a cloth over his head, she poured water on the dish of bloody leaves. These leaves were later put up in the house, for as they continue to grow so will the man have a long life.

The chickens were then scalded and picked; the feathers and entrails and some cooked rice were carried outside and put on a little platform as an offering to the fowls and animals belonging to the spirits, "so that they will not enter the house and disturb the people." The *baylan* prayed for some time calling on the spirits to send their animals, and then she addressed the animals themselves, bidding them to take the offering and be satisfied.

Returning to the house, she took the rice and meat which had been cooked and put them in two dishes; she also took a coconut shell filled with water, a betel nut box, and *tinalad*. All of these were spread on a mat in the center of the floor, and the old woman squatted before them. The wife of the sick man put ten cents on the mat for the *baylan*, who then began to pray to the spirits, "Now you spirits when you have finished eating, go back home and take with you the odor of our rice and meat. Now we hope that the sick man will be well for we have offered these things to you. If you are the ones who have made him sick, please pardon, but if you are not the ones who did cause the sickness, please tell the right one, for this man has done no harm." Taking up the shell cup, she poured the water through the cracks of the bamboo floor, still praying; then taking up the coin, she prayed over it.

When she had finished her prayer, she went to the sick man and pretended to spit on his forehead; then making a funnel of her hand, she blew on his forehead while she whispered, "Now you will be all right: this betel nut which we have here is the witness."

This finished, all present chewed the *tinalad*, after which they ate the prepared food. While the old woman *baylan* talked to the spirits, her son talked to the *gimokod*—spirits of the dead.

The total pay of the *baylan* was 25 centavos.

PAMAHÁNDI

The spirits listed under *Pamahánda* are given on page 94. They belong to the *Alabyánon* division and are generally regarded as being friendly.

They bring material prosperity, particularly in regard to horses and carabao. However, they may send illness, such as earache or consumption, if offended. In their capacity as senders of good fortune they are so much respected that each family will hold a yearly ceremony in their honor.

The following ceremony was given by four families in the village of Langawan (February 11, 1910). Two families who had suffered illness caused by the *Pamahánda púti* and *Pamahánda sīgólón* were making good their promise to celebrate for them. The other families were petitioning for good fortune.

At the time that the sickness occurred, the *baylan* had pretended to spit on the head of the sick person and had said, "Now if it is true that the *Pamahánda* cause this sickness, let it vanish for I will *ipo* [pledge] a chicken—a white one—and when we have gathered the necessary things we will make a ceremony." A chicken had been secured, water was poured on it, and a piece cut out of its comb, while the *baylan* said, "Now I pour water on the chicken for the *Pamahánda* as a sign that when I am ready I will celebrate the *Pamahánda* ceremony."

On February 11, 1910, about twenty-five people gathered in a small house. Ten chickens were brought and placed before the *baylan* who besought the spirits, "Whey! I pray the *gimokod* of my old ancestors to help me to talk to the *Pamahánda* as I do not know how to address them; so I will ask you to talk for me, and also to address the *Magbabáya* who looks after us. It is good if they look at me now for I am blowing on the chicken and am making the *Pamahánda* [ceremony]." Then addressing the *Pamahánda*, he said, "It is better for you to look here at this *ipo* chicken for I am going to kill it for you and I ask you that the persons who have been ill may be well and also that all of us may have plenty of horses and carabao and enough to eat." A general invitation was extended to all the other *Alabyánon* to come and eat, after which the ten chickens were killed. Their blood was saved in a dish and later was sprinkled on the *dalaga-ón* leaves; then the fowls were cleaned and prepared for food. Rice had been previously cooked and wrapped in banana leaves. During the two hours consumed in the preparation of the chickens, the people talked or slept.

When all was ready, mats were spread on the floor and an oil can filled with liquor was put in the center. A blanket was wrapped around it and three coin necklaces laid on top. Around this were placed packages of rice, part of which were opened and the meat laid on top; also three dishes of water were placed nearby. *Tinalad* was put on the mat and the people gathered around—most of them praying—while the *baylan* addressed the spirits, "Now you *gimokod* and you *Pamahánda* [calling each by name], I called you before to see me kill the chickens, now I ask you to come and

eat and drink the *agkEd* and chew this *tinalad*. This is for you and now let the sick persons be well and let us all have good fortunes so that we may not lack anything all our lives." When he stopped, each person who had been ill came forward and held his hand over the food as a sign that he had kept his promise. The food was then divided into piles equal to the number of guests and the balance of the night was spent in eating and drinking.

Only those who are giving the ceremony should eat of the *ipo* chickens, or the spirits will not grant their request. The *baylan* who acts at this ceremony should not give away anything for three days. If he does the people who made the ceremony will lose in any trade made during that time.

KASABŌAHÁN

The *baylans* often use this name as if it were a spirit or a set of spirits, yet it is only the name of a ceremony signifying "union" or "assembly" which is held for *Malibotan* and his grandfather, *Magbabáya minúmsōb*. These spirits make one or both of a bridal pair ill unless a ceremony is made for them each year. Consequently each married couple celebrates the *Kasabōahán*. If one becomes ill soon after the marriage, the cause is known almost to a certainty, but to make sure the *baylan* takes his spear and having measured the span of his arms on it, he sticks it into the floor, places *tinalad* beside it and calls *Magbabáya minúmsōb togáwa nangalangan*—one of the more powerful of *Magbabáyas* who lives straight above and looks after people and is also able to foretell events—and the *gimokod*: "Now I want you to come and chew this *tinalad*, for I want to inquire concerning this sick person. Let me know without error how the sickness was caused when I measure this spear. What kind of sickness is this? Is it *Kasabōahán*?" He measures again on the spear and if the span has increased it is a sure sign that the spirit of *Kasabōahán*—*Malibotan*—has caused the illness. Going to the sick man he spits on his forehead. "Whey! If it is true that *Kasabōahán* has caused the illness I hope that it will now cease, for I promise that I will make a ceremony when he is well."

A small box hanger, called *sagakad*, is constructed and a chicken secured. These are carried to the sick man and the *baylan*, after blowing on the fowl, says: "Whey! The *Kasabōahán* must hear me; the chicken is here and I will kill it for him and then he should allow the man to be well again." The chicken is killed and its blood rubbed on the *sagakad* after which the meat and some rice are cooked. When prepared the food is carried to the sick man and placed on a mat. Fresh banana leaves are put in the *sagakad* and rice and meat laid on them. This done, the *baylan* addresses the same spirit as before, "Come and eat this food and chew *tinalad*, and I beg that the *Kasabōahán* will let this sick man be well." He then raises the dishes of food and says, "Here *Kasabōahán* is your food in the dish, and for

you, grandfather of *Kasabōahán* (*Magbabáya minúmsōb*), I have put this food in the *sagakad*." He offers them *tinalad* to chew and pours out water so they may wash their fingers, and the ceremony is ended.

The people eat the food, except that in the *sagakad*, which is eaten by the patient and his wife. The *baylan* who officiates receives 50 centavos if he has summoned both *Malibotan* and his grandfather, but 25 centavos if only the first. After the ceremony, the *sagakad* is hung up in the house as a sign that the ceremony has been held.

PANGOLO-AMBIT

This ceremony was witnessed only once, when the presidente of Mambwaya took a widow for his second wife. Lacking the money necessary to pay for the woman, the presidente agreed to pay the amount after the coming harvest.

A mat was spread on the floor and *tinalad* and four betel nut boxes were placed on it. The first box was for the *gimokod* of the widow's first husband; the second, for the *gimokod* of the presidente, the widow, and the presidente's first wife; the third was for the *Magbabáya*; and the fourth, which was empty, was also for the *gimokod* of the widow's first husband and was his "pay" for the woman. Having received this, he should be satisfied and not cause any trouble for the newly-married pair. The old woman *baylan* sat on one side of the mat, the presidente on the other, and the presidente's first wife and the widow at one end.

The *baylan* first called *Magbabáya* to come and be a witness of the ceremony, to care for the *gimokod* of the widow's husband, and to give the couple a good living, and not to scold them. "You have power to regulate their lives. Look and see that the presidente did not steal this woman, but secured her according to our custom. It is right for this widow to remarry now for this is the custom of widows." The *baylan* then turned a betel box around and addressed the *gimokod* of the widow's husband: "Now I turn this box around so that if you are here you must depart at once without looking back." Raising another box in her hand, she said, "This is a sign that the woman must not sink in sickness and poverty but must float like a boat on good fortune and at last reach success."

She then summoned the eight *Naglimbag*, the eight *Gilimbagen*, and the eight *Magbabáya*. She could not explain the first two sets of spirits, other than to say that she had been instructed to call these spirits when doing this ceremony. *Tagalamboñ* (probably *Domaloñdoñ*) was then called "because he is the patron of the *datos* and the presidente is a *dato*."

The *baylan* chewed betel nut alone and expectorated through the slits in the bamboo floor "so that all evil may be gone." Then she stood up, turned towards the wall and rubbed her hand on one of the house supports

"so that the couple will grow like a tree and will have long life." Finally she reached out further and rubbed her hand on the bamboo wall "so that they will have good fortune and be like the bamboo for at first it is only one or two sprouts but later it spreads out into a large clump."

Again seating herself, she gave *tinalad* to the presidente and the widow and then caused them to exchange the pieces and chew them. She did likewise with the presidente and his first wife "so that she may have no cause to complain." After this, all chewed *tinalad* and the ceremony was complete. Three days after the ceremony the presidente became ill with dysentery. The spirits were considered as the cause, and two days later the ceremony *Kasabōahán* was celebrated (see p. 105).

KALIGA-ŌN

The powerful group of *Kaliga-ōn* spirits noted above is closely associated with the rice harvest, but its members also keep watch over humans and warn or scold them, when necessary, by sending sickness.

If a person has a serious illness which refuses to yield to other remedies, a *baylan* is called to determine if the *Kaliga-ōn* are responsible. This preliminary step is called *Pagbála* and consists of measuring a spear, as mentioned in other ceremonies.

Betel nut is offered by the *baylan* who then addresses the *Magbabáya*. The substance of the prayer is an appeal for a speedy recovery and for ability to learn the cause of the illness. He calls, "If the sickness is caused by the *Kaliga-ōn* let the measurement on this spear be extended." If it is increased, he names the individual spirits of this group. After each name he measures until the right one is known. A person whose illness is diagnosed in this manner is called *ayawan*, or "scolded."

Should the patient be passing blood, or if he has a wound which refuses to heal, it is not necessary to measure for it is already certain that the spirit named *Masaubasau* is responsible.

The *Kaliga-ōn* (see pp. 96-7) have certain objects which belong to or represent them. Two or three sticks tied horizontally are known as *dagingōn* and belong to the spirits *Dagingōn*, *Korongon*, *Liga-ōn*, *Bontiálon*, *SEgkarōn*, and *Laulau-ōn*. Four sticks tied in the same way are known by the same name but are for the spirit *SapawEn*. A wooden doll represents *Lantangōn* and a single bamboo tube is for *Tambolōn*. For *Masaubasau*, *Tagalamboñ*, *Hinolōban*, and *Gologóndo* little basket-like affairs of bamboo tubes which are known as *goloñ-goloñ* are made. Should one of the spirits for whom the *dagingōn* is made cause a person to be ill before the planting time, the *baylan* will take a chicken and cut a small piece off its comb. These chickens are called *ipo*—"pledged"—and should anyone kill them, the patient will

be sick or die. The *baylan* prays, "Make the sick person well and when the time for planting comes, these people will make a *dagingõn* and put it into the fields for you."

When the fields are ready the *baylan* makes the promised object and accompanied by the family and the friends of the sick person, goes to the field. A round piece of bark is cut and a stick is stuck through the center so as to form a sort of table called *kalõtãn*. On this are placed a number of pieces of betel nut ready for chewing, and the *baylan* sits before it and prays, "You *Dagingõn* must care for these plants and everything we have in the field and I promise that when the crops are harvested, we will celebrate the *Kaliga-õn*." The object called *dagingõn* is actually the home of *Ibabasõ*, a servant of the *Kaliga-õn*. All those present chew betel nut while the *baylan* and the girls sing the *kaliga*.

Certain types of songs and set words belong to this ceremony. To these the *baylan* adds some of his own. Many of the words of the set songs are very old and are understood by few, if any, of the people. The girls sing only a few words, but these are repeated over and over: *Hindog mayau so Kaliga-õn mandia* ("We stand because the *Kaliga-õn* who caused the sickness is here"). When they have sung for an hour or more, they put the *dagingõn* in a little house made of two forked sticks with cross pole and roof, and return home. The *dagingõn* and the little house, called *lawig*, built for it must always be placed above the *kalõtãn*. Nothing further is done until the time for *Kaliga-õn*. This ceremony is called *Pagbitay*.

Should sickness occur after planting time, the *dagingõn* is not made until the day of *Kaliga-õn* and no ceremony takes place in the fields. However, the comb of the chicken is cut and the promise to celebrate the *Kaliga-õn* is made.

When it is found that the sickness is caused by one of the spirits for whom the *goloñ-goloñ* is made, the *baylan* pretends to spit on the forehead of the patient and says, "Whey! If it is true that you, so-and-so, are making this man sick, I beg of you that he will be made well at once, for tomorrow I will cut the comb of a chicken and we will sing *kaliga*, and I will promise the chicken for the *Kaliga-õn*." The following night they will make a round box of bark and fill it with dirt and ashes on which they will build a fire. This is known as the *dapolan* and is always made when *kaliga* is sung in the house. Close by the *dapolan* the promised chicken is tied and betel nut is spread out. The *baylan* then addresses the spirit: "Now we are here. Now I am close by the *dapolan* and I have *tinalad* here for you. Take it and chew it and if you have made the sickness, let the man get well, and I promise that I will celebrate the *Kaliga-õn* for you and offer the chicken to you when the harvest time is past." After the prayer the *baylan* cuts the comb of the

chicken, the people chew the *tinalad* and the *baylan* and the girls sing the *kaliga* for an hour or two. For the *Kaliga-ñn*, red or colored chickens are used.

When the harvest time has passed and the people have sufficient food accumulated, they prepare for the *Kaliga-ñn*. Usually all those people in the town who are under promise to celebrate will combine to make it at the same time, but should one not be prepared when the others are ready, he or she will celebrate it alone.

When the time for the ceremony is near, each family prepares a jar of *agkEd* (fermented rice-wine) and reserves about two measures of rice, some chickens, and perhaps a pig. Each family is also expected to supply its share of wood, water, and banana leaves. When the drinking has started and the other preparations are in process, the workers will sing the *kaliga*.

On the night of February 1, eight families of Langawan and their friends gathered at one house, where it had been agreed to celebrate *Kaliga-ñn*. A *dapolan* (round fire-box) had been made and on it a fire was kindled; then *tinalad* was prepared and placed beside it. The four *baylans* of the town squatted before the offering and prayed to the spirits, "You *Kaliga-ñn* must come and take this *tinalad* and chew it, for we now tell you that tomorrow night will be *Ipasakáy* ["the notifying"]. We want you to tell your companions and parents and other spirits that tomorrow night will be *Ipasakáy*."

Before the *baylans* call any other spirits, they must always address *Molin-olin*, for it is he who is the patron of all *baylans*. He taught the first *baylan* and he still aids the others. The prayer to him is usually a request for a clear mind so that the *baylan* may not forget the words of his song or the things he is to do. When the prayer was finished the people chewed the *tinalad* and one of the *baylans* took his place on one side of the *dapolan* and began to sing the *kaliga*, meanwhile slowly circling the fire while four girls formed a half-circle on the other side and moved slowly around, singing at intervals. The words of the song (previously given) are always the same and are repeated time and again. Often two groups will be singing different parts at the same time, while the *baylan* is carrying his song in quite a different time and key. When singing, the girls always hold a cloth before their faces, for they are "ashamed to have people see their mouths open when singing."

At times during the evening, some boys danced a sort of clog dance (*salumpi*) and the girls danced the *lagoras*, used only at this time. Two girls hold hands, right and left, and as they dance, they swing them forward and up, hold them an instant in the air, and then swing them back. They circle to right or left as they dance. In going to the right, the step is as follows:

the left foot is slipped or drawn along the floor towards the right on count one and the right foot then makes the beats 2, 3, 4, the first two in one place, the third towards the right; this continues until the circle has been completed. When dancing toward the left, the movement of the feet is reversed, the right foot making the first count and the left 2, 3, and 4. The singing and dancing continued until daybreak. The *baylans* say that the dance has no meaning, but is used whenever the people feel sleepy to keep them awake.

The night of February 2, the people again assembled to celebrate the *Ipasakáy*, i.e., they sang and danced all night in order to notify the *Kaliga-ôn* that the real ceremony would begin the next day. The *dapolan* was again put in the middle of the floor and *tinalad* was placed beside it. The *baylans* sat before these and each prayed, first to their patron *Molin-olin*, asking for help in remembering the songs they must sing for the *Kaliga-ôn*; and then to *Magbabáya*: "I hope that you will hear what I am saying and asking for, so that I may not forget the words I must sing, for tonight I must talk to the *Kaliga-ôn* and I must not forget the words of my song." Then addressing the *Kaliga-ôn*, they said, "You *Kaliga-ôn*! It will be much better if you will come near to us. You must come and take this *tinalad* so that you may know that at this time you are *Ipasakáy* ["notified"] and that tomorrow the *Kaliga-ôn* will be held." When all the *baylans* had prayed, the people chewed the *tinalad* and then one of the *baylans* began to sing. At first his song was addressed to *Magbabáya* but soon it was shifted to the *Kaliga-ôn*. In the song he besought the spirits to let the people be well for they have promised to make the ceremony. At intervals the girls sang and danced and this continued until morning.

In the morning, the *baylans* went to the fields where the *dagingôn* had been placed the first day. Each *baylan* was accompanied by the person for whom the *dagingôn* had been made and a number of girls and other friends, one of whom carried the promised chicken. When they arrived at the field, they prepared *tinalad* and then went to the little house in which the *dagingôn* had been hung. Below the *dagingôn* was the *kalótan*. The roof of the spirit house was torn off, and two kinds of fresh leaves were put on the *dagingôn*. The *tinalad* and a can of liquor were placed beneath and the rooster tied nearby. This done, the *baylan* prayed, "You *Kaliga-ôn* must not be surprised, for I am taking the *dagingôn* to the house where we are to celebrate *Kaliga-ôn*; and you spirits who have cared for the *dagingôn* here in the field, you must come here and take the *tinalad* and chew it, for I must take this *dagingôn* to the house where we celebrate." When the prayer was finished, all present chewed the *tinalad* and ate the fermented rice from the *agkEd*, after which the *baylan* and the girls sang.



Fig. 62. Sacrificing a fowl at the *Kaliga-ôn* ceremony.

At one point in the song, a *baylan* cut the throat of the rooster and put its blood on the *dagingôn* and the *kalôtan* below it. Again the *baylan* prayed and the girls sang (figs. 62, 63). At the command of the *baylan*, a girl who had been ill came to him and he dipped a feather into the blood and drew it slowly across the palm of her left hand, meanwhile praying, "May the girl be well now and not be sick any more for the chicken which she promised is now killed and we are making the ceremony." Taking his stand on one side of the little house, he slowly walked around it singing, the girls doing likewise. The song informed the *dagingôn* that it was about to be taken to the town and to the place where the *Kaliga-ôn* was being celebrated, and it was necessary that it should accompany them. Still singing, he took the *dagingôn* from the house and, accompanied by all those present, now in line, returned to the town all singing continually.

At the edge of the town, a messenger notified them that the *baylans* who had gone to the other fields for the *dagingôn* placed there had not returned, so the *dagingôn* carried by this party was fastened to a tree to await the return of the other *baylans*. The groups returning from the fields brought plants for use in the ceremony. These are all called *dalaga-ôn* and are to be put with the *dagingôn*. Meanwhile in the town, other *baylans* had been busy



Fig. 63. Making an offering at the *Kaliga-ôn* ceremony.

preparing *dagingôn* for those persons who had been ill after planting and so had no *lawig* in the fields; they also made the necessary *goloñ-goloñ*, *lantangôn*, and *tambolôn*.

By three in the afternoon, the other *baylans* had returned and all was in readiness for the ceremony. Four small poles about five feet high were sunk into the earth and a platform put on top of them. On top were placed offerings of rice, eggs, *agkEd*, dried roots and *tinalad*, while at the foot fifteen chickens and two pigs were tied. Later the *goloñ-goloñ*, *dagingôn*, *tambolôn*, and *lantangôn*, symbols for the spirits, were brought. All but the last were attached to the platform, but the figure of *Lantangôn* was dressed in white, a red head-band was placed on his head and he was put on a little bamboo seat (fig. 64). The offerings put on the platform at this time and also the waste such as feathers, pigs' feet, etc., are for the harmful fowls and animals belonging to the *Inkanto*, a class of *Alabyánon* spirits, including *tao saluf*, "man of the woods"; *tao sa baliti*, "man of the *baliti* tree"; *taga dalama*, "man of the cliffs"; *Bulalakau*, "man of the water"; and *taga bato*, "man of the stones." Unless this offering is made their enormous animals are sure to go up into the house and injure the people.



Fig. 64. Culmination of the *Kaliga-ŏn* ceremony.

The *baylans* gathered around the platform and one of them set fire to a bundle of roots and each put his fingers into the smoke and then to his face "in order that they might have a good voice for singing." This part of the ceremony is known as *Palina*. The persons who were responsible for the ceremony then gathered just back of the platform and many girls in gorgeous clothes sat down nearby. Each *baylan* took a chicken in his hands and prayed, then cut its throat and allowed the blood to run over the leaves on the *dagingŏn*, *goloñ-goloñ*, and the image of *Lantangŏn*. This was repeated until all the animals were slaughtered, the *baylans* meanwhile saying to the fowls and animals of the *Kaliga-ŏn*: "You animals of the *Kaliga-ŏn* who wish to suck the blood come now and get it and do not come to the house." Then one of the *baylans* threw three eggs into the air and called upon the fowls of the *Kaliga-ŏn* to come and eat. The eggs fell to the ground and were broken so it was known that the fowls had eaten and would not come to the house for food. One of the women who had been ill came forward and a *baylan* allowed the blood of a slaughtered animal to fall on her hands and wrist at the same time praying, "You *Kaliga-ŏn* who

were angry and who made the woman sick, give back her health for she now celebrates the *Kaliga-ñn* and this blood on her hands is a sign that she has done as she promised."

The leaves which had been lying on the ground were planted beside the southwest pole of the platform and for a time the girls and the *baylan* sang. The pigs and the chickens were carried away to be prepared for food. Each *baylan* pulled a leaf from the branches and stuck it into his head-band as a sign that they had gone "into the shade of the *agboñ*," and in order that the fowls of the *Alabyánon* might recognize them as *baylans* and not injure them. For nearly an hour they sang there in spite of a driving rain, and at last they took the spirit offerings, *dagingñn*, and the rest, and went to the foot of the house ladder.

One of the *baylans* asked in song: "Is this the house where the sick person lives?"

One of the other *baylans* who had previously gone up asked: "Who are these people? Where do they come from? Perhaps they wish us ill and will make us sick."

The *baylan* below (replying): "Do not be afraid—we do not come here to do you harm. We come here in order to see you keep the promise which you made to us."

The *baylan* above: "Oh, if you are the *Kaliga-ñn* whom we promised I want you to give us the sign that you are truly the right ones, so that we will not be afraid, and also the people in the house will not have fear."

The *baylan* below: "If that is what you wish, I will give you the proof that we are the *Kaliga-ñn*. Can you not see these things [he holds up *dagingñn* and other objects] which I hold in my hands? You know that we cannot come to this town without an object."

The *baylan* above: "If you are the *Kaliga-ñn* who made the people sick and are the ones whom we promised and are expecting to come at this time, we are glad to see you when you are in the shade of this house. If you like our ladder you may come up, for you have not lost the way."

The *baylan* below: "Now since you wish us to come up, we will do so, because this was our purpose, to see you, and we cannot go back home until the promise is kept."

Singing, they all entered the house. The figure of *Lantangñn* was placed beside the *dapolan* and the other spirit offerings were tied up above. Then two *baylans* sang *awit* (when *Masaubasau* is one of the spirits present, this song must always be sung or he will be angry and cause more sickness).

Two jars of *agkEd* were brought in and placed by *Lantangñn* and the singing continued. Two dishes containing beads, needles, and rings, and two small bolos put on the mat, were for the *baylans*. Five dishes of *tinalad* were for the spirit *Molin-olin*, the patron of the *baylans*.

Each one prayed: "Come and take this *tinalad* and help me while I sing and talk. Let me have ability to talk a long time and not become confused."

Addressing the other spirits, they said: "Do not be surprised that we are here, for we are now celebrating *Kaliga-ôn* and even though we do not know well how to perform the ceremony, do not be angry with us, but let the sick persons become well and let the *baylans* keep well, and also the people here, and let nothing happen to our bodies. If we were the wisest living, then you would be glad, but now we know nothing; but there is no one here from whom the people can inquire, so we are forced to sing."

Then all chewed the *tinalad*, and the *baylans* and girls sang, and the latter sometimes danced. For a while anyone was allowed to sing.

Meanwhile, the food was being prepared in the various houses, and when all was ready bamboo poles were laid on the floor and mats were spread over them. The jars of *agkEd* were placed in the center, and the food wrapped in banana leaves was piled high on all sides. A little bamboo seat with a blanket over it was placed by the "table" for the *Kaliga-ôn* to sit in, and a *talapnay* (round disks of wood slipped on a stick, serving as a stand for *tinalad*) was placed nearby for *Lantangôn*, the strongest spirit who visited the ceremony.

When all was ready, the *baylans* again prayed, offering the food to the spirits. Meat and the pig skulls were put in the *goloñ-goloñ* for the spirit *Awit*. Many spirits other than the *Kaliga-ôn* were invited to come and partake of the feast. When all had been offered, the food was gathered up and divided into little piles, with an equal amount of rice and meat for each person in the village. Those who desired took their portions home, but the majority stayed and ate and drank together. At about 3:00 A.M. the *baylans* again began to sing and the girls assisted as before.

This continued until about seven in the morning. At that time, everything was removed from the center of the room except the *dapolan*, the spirit offerings, and the figure of *Lantangôn*. One of the *baylans* sang for about an hour, then, taking some of the leaves which had been sprinkled with blood the day before, he waved them above the sick persons who were sitting in a line on the floor.

The *baylan* sang: "Now you who have been made ill by *Kaliga-ôn* will be well, and the sickness will disappear, for I am driving it away. Now it is late and I am going away, but before I go I will take the sickness with me."

He took a coconut shell filled with water and baptized each of the patients, singing: "Now you who have been sick must be well, for I am putting this cold water on you so that your minds will be clear and you will not feel the sickness any more." (He explained to us, "The water

washes away the sickness, just the same as it washes the dirt out of dirty things.”)

Taking a comb, the *baylan* ran it a few times over the head of each one “so as to give them clear, good heads, with no more sickness.” He continued singing while he waved the bloody leaves over their heads.

Finally the *baylan* pulled off the leaves, giving one to each of the patients in order that they might take them home and keep them as a sign that the patients had fulfilled the promise. The girls gathered around the fire and sang while one *baylan* took down the spirit offerings. With these in his hands he stood beside the *dapolan* while a second *baylan* took a small chicken in his hands and knelt beside the fire.

For a moment he prayed in silence. Then, taking hold of the upper and lower parts of the chicken’s bill, he tore it in two, and rubbed the side of the *dapolan* with its fluttering body, saying: “The sickness of these persons must vanish because I put blood on this *dapolan* as a sign that we have kept the promise to the *Kaliga-ôn* and the ceremony is finished.”

With his fingers, he tore the body nearly in two and spread it on the ashes of the fire as an offering to the spirits who live in the earth, as payment for the soil which was in the *dapolan*, “so that they might have no cause for anger.”

All the things were then gathered up by the *baylans* and they and the girls sang as they went out of the house and to the edge of the town where they deposited the spirit offerings.

Thus the ceremony ended. The *baylans*’ final song was: “You people who have been sick do not fear any more, for I am taking the sickness away with me, for I am going home now—this is the time when I must go home.”

The following notes were added by the *baylans*:

If the *dagingôn* is not thrown away but is fastened up in the house, it is a promise to the *Kaliga-ôn* that the family will celebrate for them again the next year.

The doll called *Lantangôn* is meant to represent that spirit. “The spirits probably come to them—*Lantangôn*, *Dagingôn*—during the ceremony, but maybe they only watch and see them.”

Ibasasô is a neighbor of the *Kaliga-ôn*. He has his own place but when the *Kaliga-ôn* tell him to go somewhere and care for a field, he must go.

The *Kaliga-ôn* do not live in the sky or in the earth, but on hills or mountains which look like houses, especially volcanoes.

The *talapnay* is made only for the five strongest of the *Kaliga-ôn*. They are *Lantangôn*, *Tagalamboñ*, *Hinolôban*, *Gologondo*, and *Linankôban*. As *Lantangôn* was the only one of these present at the ceremony only one *talapnay* was

made, but had others visited, a *talapnay* would have been constructed for each one attending.

During the ceremony, the *baylans* wear head-bands "because the *Kaliga-ñon* are Bukidnon," but others may wear what they like.

There are no restrictions or prohibitions on either *baylans* or the participants after the ceremony.

VII. The Tungud Movement

In 1908 a religious movement known as *Tungud* was started among the Manobo of the Rio Libaganon. It spread rapidly over the Manobo and Mandaya tribes of eastern Mindanao and eventually reached the borders of Bukidnon. The first evidences of the cult in this area came early in 1910 when certain villages on the Manobo border were suddenly deserted. The American governor, Lewis, at first considered this to be a reaction against his attempts to locate all the Bukidnon in model villages. Soon, however, it became evident that this was part of a much wider movement.

Since the *Tungud* did not spread far in this area, a brief account will suffice. Its origin and development have been treated in detail by Garvan for the Manobo, and by the writer for the Mandaya territory. (See Garvan, 1931, ch. 29; and Cole, 1913, pp. 179-180.) A hitherto unimportant Manobo, named Mapakla, apparently had died of cholera and had been deserted by his kinsmen. Three days later he suddenly appeared—a well man with a definite mission.

He stated that the spirit *Magbabáya* had cured him and at the same time had commanded him to instruct the people concerning events to come. According to this spirit, the world was soon to be destroyed, hence there should be no more planting. Since animals would no longer be needed they should be slaughtered. A certain type of religious house was to be erected in each village, and “priests” chosen and instructed by Mapakla were to conduct ceremonies. At a given time they were to lead the faithful to the afterworld. All others were doomed to perish.

The movement swept eastern Mindanao but had only minor influence in Bukidnon. A few peripheral villages were deserted and had not been re-occupied at the time this study was concluded, which suggests that the acculturational pressures were less in the Bukidnon region.

VIII. Music and Dancing

DANCES

Dancing is the chief amusement at nearly every gathering, whether it be a ceremony or merely to have a good time. Many of the dances are mimetic—such as those imitating the movements of a hawk (fig. 65). The dancers may imitate men stealing, courting or having intercourse with a dummy. Some are very risqué but are witnessed by women and children without any sense of impropriety.

The most common dance is the *sayau*, in which one or more participants—male or female—hold cloths in their hands. They bend their wrists backward and forward; their extended arms go in circles, to and fro in slow graceful movements “like the hawk” whose flight the dance imitates. When the *sayau* is danced in the house the music is furnished by two or three women who beat on a mat with the palms of their hands. The beat is one heavy with the left hand and three light with the right.

The *sinakaysakay* is a woman’s dance. The participant holds a shield in each hand and raises and lowers it “as if flying.” Meanwhile she circles, keeping time to the music, as in the *sayau*.

Sa-ō or *Sa-ōt* (see fig. 56) was seen only in connection with a wedding. The groom’s party is preceded by a man carrying a shield and long spear with a bell attached. He dances furiously, with rapid movement of the feet, but keeping time to a drum beat. He charges an imaginary enemy with spear held aloft and covers retreat with his shield.

Two dances—the *salumpi* and *lagoras*—were witnessed in connection with ceremonies (see *Kaliga-ōn* ceremony). The *salumpi* is a sort of clog dance done singly or by a group of boys holding hands. There is no music, yet they keep good time. Two girls usually dance the *lagoras*. They take hold of hands—right and left—and swing them forward and up, hold them an instant, then swing them back. Meanwhile, they circle right, then left. As they go to the right the left foot is slipped or drawn toward the right on the count of one. On beats two and three, the right foot keeps time, then on four slips to the right. This continues until the circle is complete, after which the movement is reversed. At one place in the *Kaliga-ōn* ceremony the girls sing as they make a half circle around the ceremonial place called *dapolan*.



Fig. 65. Male dancers imitating the movements of hawks.

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

Music for the dance is produced on drums made from hollowed out sections of small logs. Each end is covered with pigskin. Brass gongs, secured in trade, are frequently used and are beaten in unison with the drums. Another dance "instrument" is a mat on which women beat time with their hands.

Aside from these, other instruments are for individual use. Men and boys play on bamboo flutes, on jew's-harps, or on native violins. The latter have a sounding-box made of bamboo covered with a leaf, piece of bark, or piece of skin. The neck is of bamboo and the strings of hemp. The bamboo bow is likewise fitted with hemp strings. Violin strings are tightened by slipping wooden sticks beneath them (fig. 66).

An equally primitive instrument, widespread in Malaysia, is made by cutting narrow strips lengthwise of a bamboo tube. These are raised and made taut with wooden plugs. Women play them by picking the strings with their fingers (fig. 67).

The most elaborate of Bukidnon instruments are the long "guitars," or boat lutes. These are usually carved to represent a mythical two-headed animal, a crocodile or a bird (fig. 53). Such instruments are well made of thin strips of wood. The tightening rods are of wood, and the frets are of

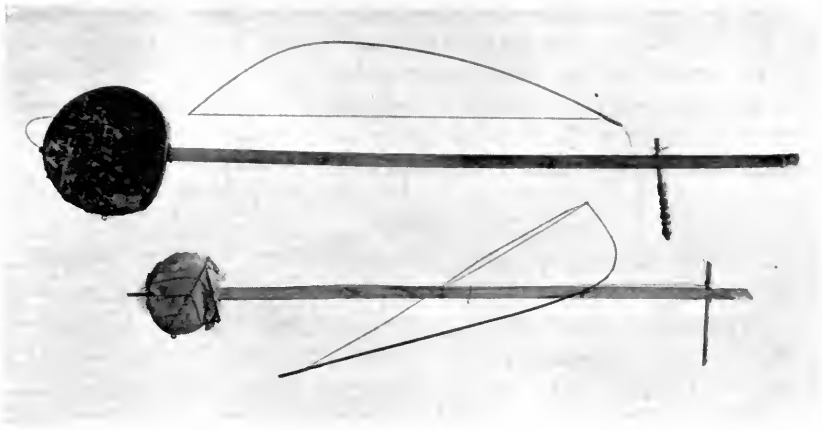


Fig. 66. Native violins with bows.



Fig. 67. Woman's musical instrument made from bamboo.

beeswax with small bamboo guides set in each. The guitar has two strings, one of which is free; the other rests on the frets. When the strings are properly tuned the player plucks them with the fingers of the right hand while those of the left put proper pressure on the strings high on the neck.

Shell trumpets may be employed by town officials to summon people to the general meeting place.

SONGS

Seven types of songs are recognized:

- (1) The *idang-dang* is sung when happy.
- (2) The *sala* is a love song, partially traditional, partially improvised.
- (3) The *limbay* is heard at times of sorrow.
- (4) The *handaurau* is a drinking song, and consists of improvised compliments.
- (5) The *limboyau* is also a drinking song.
- (6) The *olaging* is a bed-time chant in which a story teller sings about *Agúio* and other folk tale beings.

(7) Ceremonial songs—such as those heard in connection with the *Kaliga-ôn* ceremony—are usually sung by the *baylan* and a group of girls. The *baylan* knows the words of the traditional songs, part of which he teaches to the girls, and to these he adds some of his own. Many lines are archaic and not understood. In general these consist of a few words repeated over and over—such as *Hindog mayau so Kaliga-ôn mandia*, “We stand because the *Kaliga-ôn* who caused the sickness is here.” When they sing the girls hold cloths in front of their faces to cover their mouths.

At one stage of the *Kaliga-ôn* ceremony different groups of girls take different parts of the song simultaneously, while the *baylan* chants independently, usually in a different time and key.

Most of these songs were recorded on phonograph cylinders and for years were deposited in the Museum. More recently they were transferred to the Department of Anthropology, Indiana University, in the care of Dr. George Herzog. So far as is known these have not yet been transcribed.

IX. Celestial Bodies and the Seasons

Certain stars and constellations are well known to the Bukidnon. By their position in the sky it is known when it is time to prepare and to plant the fields. The presence of these celestial guides is accounted for by two tales. The first is as follows:

In the first times the sky was close to the ground. There was a spinster who was pounding rice and every time she raised the pestle it struck the sky. When she began to work she had beads around her neck, but while she was working she took them off and hung them on the sky. She took the comb out of her hair and hung it also on the sky, for it was like a coral rock. When she began pounding again she struck the sky very hard with the pestle. Suddenly it went up high and she lost her ornaments. Her comb became the moon and her beads were the stars.

The second and more important story relates the adventures of Magbangal and his wife. Magbangal was once a powerful man. One night he and his wife were talking about clearing the land, for it was the proper time. He said to her, "My wife, come near to me and I will tell you something." She came near and he said, "Tomorrow I will go to our field and I want you to stay here."

She replied, "Let me go with you for you have no companion."

"No," said Magbangal, "I do not wish you to go. I want you to stay here." The wife agreed, and they went to sleep.

In the early morning she prepared his food, but he said, "I do not want to eat for I will return in the afternoon."

His wife insisted on preparing food, but he refused to eat it and gathered up his ten hatchets and tied them together. Then he went to the fields. He carried the bundle containing his hatchets and bolos and sharpening stone and also a tube made of bamboo for water.

When he reached his land he put down his tools. He cut some trees and made them into a bench. When he had completed it he sat down and said to the bolos, "You bolos must be sharpened on the stone." Then the bolos sharpened themselves on the stone.

When they had finished sharpening themselves, Magbangal said to the hatchets, "You hatchets must be sharpened also." At once they were sharpened.

When the sharpening was finished he said to them, "Now you bolos cut off the small grass under the trees, and you hatchets must cut the large trees." The hatchets and the bolos went to work, and Magbangal could see the grass being cut and the trees falling.

His wife was in their house and when she heard the trees continually falling she was greatly surprised. About mid-day she said to herself, "Perhaps my husband has found many people to help him work. I will go to see him. When he left he was alone, but now I can hear the noise of many falling trees."

Then she went with moving breasts and when she reached a spot near the field she walked slowly. She hid in a tree and looked toward the bench where her husband lay asleep. She saw the bolos cutting grass, but no one was using them. She saw the hatchets cutting the trees, but no hands were using them. She said, "How powerful Magbangal must be. I have never before seen bolos and hatchets working without hands. He has never told me of his power."

Her husband jumped up suddenly for a bolo had just cut off one of his arms. Then he awoke and sat up, and said, "I think some people must be looking at me, for my arm is cut off. Perhaps it is my wife. If you—my wife—are looking at me, you must come here."

She came as she was commanded and he said, "Why did you not stay at home as I told you to do? Now my arm is cut off."

Then they went home, and she began to prepare something for him to eat. He said, "Do not cook anything for me. Eat if you wish, but I am going away. Now it is better for me to go to the sky and give the sign to the people so they will know when it is time to plant. You must go to the water and become a fish."

Then he went to the sky and became the constellation we call Magbangal, and his remaining arm became Balokau. The jaw of one of the pigs he had killed became Baka, and the hill on which he had often hunted became Molopolo. His hatchets became Tá-on, his bolos Malala, and his pet lizard Tī-ok.

The various constellations and stars mentioned in the tale were pointed out to me on February 4, 1910, at 7:00 P.M.

A dipper-shaped group which appeared at an angle of about 45 degrees—just south of east—was identified as Magbangal. The line of stars below is called Balokau and is the remaining arm of Magbangal.

Higher and to the west was a triangular alignment called Baka, "for it is the jaw of one of the pigs killed by Magbangal."

Still farther to the west, a little beyond the zenith, a small dipper was identified as Molopolo, the hill on which Magbangal hunted.

Toward dawn of that night three groups of stars appeared which were explained as follows: The first one, which is L-shaped, is T \acute{a} -on, the hatchet of Magbangal. The second, a triangle, is Sogob-a-ton, the bamboo pole carried to the field. This was difficult to visualize. The third, a circle, is T \bar{i} -ok, the large pet lizard of Magbangal.

The evening star is Taku ("thief"), since it always runs away when other stars appear.

By the position of these bodies in the sky the Bukidnon identify the seasons and arrange their field work. When Molopolo appears at an angle of about 45 degrees, it is time to plant bananas, sugar cane, and some varieties of rice—also some corn. When Magbangal appears at 45 degrees, it is time to clear all the lands for the yearly crops. When it is just west of the zenith it is time to burn the grass and dead trees. Planting should follow within a few days. If it is not possible to clear and plant according to these stars one should wait for T \acute{a} -on. When it rises at 45 degrees, the land should be cleared. When it comes up at 95 degrees (i.e., about one o'clock) and T \bar{i} -ok is at 55 degrees (i.e., eleven o'clock) it is time to burn the plants and brush. This planting should be finished within two or three days for it is then time for hard rains to begin.

When all constellations rise west of the zenith, it is the rainy season. When they rise at the zenith it is the hot season. When they appear in the east it is the dry season. Some planters watch the *kamil* tree for signs. When it has no leaves it is good to clear the land. When the leaves begin to come it is time to burn and plant.

Falling stars are "the filth of the stars." When one strikes the water it becomes fish. If it strikes the land it is transformed into a snake. The rainbow—*balogoto*—is the road over which the *Alabyánon* spirits walk.

It is customary to count by nights. Fifteen "bright nights" and fifteen "dark nights" make a month, but sometimes there are only fourteen "bright nights." The year is reckoned by crops: first is rice planting; then harvest; then comes corn, and it is a year.

X. Stories and Legends

Gathering stories and folk tales proved a difficult task. Occasionally someone would volunteer a story to account for the origin of a lake or town, or of different kinds of people. Again something like the antics of a monkey would lead to a tale explaining how they came to be or why they had certain characteristics—such as black fingernails. Various hero tales appeared as incidents rather than as connected stories. Among these the most important are those surrounding Aguio and Bulanawan. Usually these are chanted at bed time, after members of the family have spread their mats on the floor. The influence of Christian and Mohammedan neighbors is evident in several, as when Adam and Eve appear as characters.

Even when the tales deal with well-known spirits they do not seem to be in any way related to the ceremonies, except the story of the “origin of the races,” where one of the *Magbabáya* is killed to provide food for the people. It does not appear that there are recognized story tellers or that the tales recorded are taken very seriously. Several times there were hints of a well-defined series of tales, but efforts to bring them into the open met with little success. The following are typical of what was heard.

HOW SUMILAO WAS FOUNDED

In the ancient days the Moros attacked the towns of Malambagohon (now Cagayan) and Mission Mana-ol (now Tagolan). The inhabitants were defeated and in their trouble called in Dalabahan, the brave defender of Bukidnon, to help them. They paid him 50 pesos a month for his services. With him as their leader, the Bukidnon were able to rout the Moros and to drive them as far as the present town of Mailag. Since that time the Moros have not returned, and the victors founded the town of Sumilao. The warriors with Dalabahan were few in number and badly armed. They had no guns and few weapons so many of them had to fight with stones. Their victory shows their great bravery.

THE LAKE CALLED DANAÓ

At Sumilao there is a lake called Danao. The edge is but a few feet from the edge of a canyon. A man once built his house there. One day he killed

a bird and prepared it for the pot. Then the bird began to eat and they both laughed. No sooner had this happened than a great storm came and where the house had stood there was only a lake. The people neither speak nor laugh when they pass this place.

THE GREAT DROUGHT AND THE ORIGIN OF THE MOROS

In the olden times there were many people in Mindanao, but there came a time when the rains ceased and the hot sun shone continually. The crops were killed and all the people died except Tibolon, Bala-ol, Manadgau, and Mampolompon. These four discussed their plight, for they had no food and no place to live. Tibolon wanted to live in Sumilao because he thought that thunder was there. Bala-ol chose Salog because he was sure that it was the place of thunder. For the same reason Manadgau chose to live in Tubala-on. Mampolompon was equally certain that Pulangi was the place. Bala-ol and Mampolompon were brothers and the other two were their friends. As they could not agree they separated and lived in the places they chose. Tibolon was married to a woman from Kay-yem-payri. Bala-ol also found a woman and Manadgau married Palina. Mampolompon also married. From these unions came the Bukidnon.

Mampolompon had a clearing where he grew many things but when the famine came he could not grow anything. He tried planting everything good for food but nothing lived except one bamboo. This grew very high and during a high wind it was broken. Soon after this he saw a woman and a dog and he was greatly astonished. He went to the bamboo and examined it. In one joint he found hairs from a woman's head and in another were dog hairs. Then he was sure that the new arrivals had come out of the bamboo. He tried to talk with the woman but the dog bit him and he could not. He tried many times but always failed. At last the dog began to talk and soon he made Mampolompon his servant. The dog and the woman were married and soon had many children. These were the ancestors of the Moros.

ORIGIN OF THE RACES

The eight *Magbabáya* lived far from the world. When they first thought of making the world they looked about in their place. They found that they had iron, wood, and different kinds of trees. One *Magbabáya* took off his hair, tied it into a knot and when he had made a little ceremony he transformed it into an "eagle" (hawk). This eagle held a knot of leaves wrapped around with hair. *Magbabáya* made another ceremony and the world appeared. In that world were two persons, Salamanka ("Adam") and Sinokat ("Eve"). He put them in a fine place. He told them to eat

anything they wished except the fruit of one tree. The people did not obey but began to eat that fruit. So *Magbabáya* drove them away from the good place.

The eight *Magbabáya* then met together to discuss the people, for they were starving. It was agreed that one of the *Magbabáya* would allow himself to be killed so that his body might be used as food for Salamanka and Sinokat. The other *Magbabáya* cut one of them into several pieces, and his blood which sank into the ground became wild pig and deer; the blood which fell on the trees became monkeys and birds; and the leaves on which it fell were buried and at once plants sprang up from them. Then the *Magbabáya* washed his hands in the rivers and the blood became fish. Then he told the people that they must live on the things which they had made, but from then on they must do hard work because they had disobeyed his command.

Those two people married and had eight children, four boys and four girls. Four of these were white and four black. The parents wanted to marry the blacks with the whites, but one white boy refused and ran away with a white girl. They went across the ocean and now their children are the Spaniards, Americans and other white people. Two black children also ran far away and their children are the Negroes (Negritos and American Negroes). Those who remained with their parents did as they wished and married. Their children were brown and are now the Bukidnon.

ADAM AND EVE

The *Magbabáya* made Adam and Eve and put them in the world. Soon they had a son and as they did not want him, they slew him and burned his body in the fire. A second son was born, and they killed him also and threw him into the river. Not long after, the *Magbabáya* came, and when he found what they had done he was very angry. He gathered up the bones of the dead boys and made them alive again. The first boy went far away and became "the holder of the smallpox." Sometimes he returns to visit his brothers and great sickness follows. *Magbabáya* asked the second boy if he wished to live with his parents again, but he said no, for they wished to kill him. So he chose to live in the water and became the spirit Bulalakau. Sometimes he visits his brothers, and then someone is drowned.

THE FLOOD

The earth was once all covered with water "because a large crab corked up the navel of the sea so that the water could not get out, and it rose up over the land." (The balance of the story shows strong European influence.) About one moon before the flood came, a man warned the people and told them to build a big raft. They did so and made it of three layers

of big trees. To this they tied a long rattan cord and fastened it to a big pole in the earth. When the flood came, white water came out of the mountains and the sea rose and covered the highest mountains. The people and animals on the raft were saved and when the water went down again, they were near their old homes, for the rattan had held firmly.

ORIGIN OF MONKEYS

A mother took her two children with her when she went to color cloth. She took the cloth, some pots and a shell spoon and carried them to a mud hole. She put the cloth into the mud and then put some water and the leaves used for coloring into the pot and placed it over the fire. When the water began to boil some of it got on the woman's hand so that she jumped up quickly and called out. The children began to laugh, and when they did so, they were changed into monkeys. The spoons became tails. You can see that the monkey's fingernails are still black where the children had helped to dye the cloth.

BULANAWAN

The wife of Lang-gona had twin boys named Aguio and Bulanawan. When they were two years old, the mother took Bulanawan with her when she went to the field to pick cotton. She put the cotton near the baby to dry. Suddenly a great wind came and wound the cotton around the baby and carried him far away to a distant land. In that place he became a famous warrior.

THE STORY OF DOMAKALANGAN

Once there was a very large man named Domakalangan who lived alone. A *dato* came to him with all his people, for an enemy had threatened to destroy their town. They were allowed to stay in his house where they were safe, for all the world knew that Domakalangan was a strong, brave man. Because he had protected them, the *dato* wished to give him his daughter in marriage. Domakalangan did not take her. He explained that he ate only once a month, but that he then consumed a *cavan* of pounded rice, ten chickens, and a large hog. Despite this the *dato* insisted that he should receive his daughter. At last Domakalangan became weary, and having prepared provisions, he went away. On his way he saw a large house filled with people all of whom were very quiet. When he asked the reason he learned that one of the men was dead. He looked at the dead man and then asked permission to sleep with the corpse in order that he might revive it. The people gave their permission, but that night the people mistook him for the dead man and rubbed his body. He became very angry and cut down the house posts; then he killed all the people and went

on his way. He traveled until he saw a house in which only one old woman lived. He told her that he wished to live with her for he was tired of wandering. She agreed at once, for she desired his protection. For many years she supported him. Finally he became homesick and took her with him to visit his town. When they approached the place they found the path grown up with high grass. His house was burned and nothing remained of his people except their bones. He brought them to life again by making a ceremony and then he inquired concerning the trouble. They said that as soon as he left enemies had come and killed them all. He went at once and killed all those enemies and then he returned to his town. Again the *dato* insisted that he should marry his daughter. He refused many times, but at last he consented. Then he went to sleep and did not wake up for many days. They found that he was not sleeping but was dead, so they buried him.

THE LAKE NEAR SILI

A family lived in a place called Apo. They had no children, but they kept two dogs which were great hunters. One time the man took the dogs and went to hunt in the forest. He killed a large deer and a big wild hog. They were so heavy that he could not carry them both at the same time. So he carried one a short way and left it, then returned and brought up the other. Finally he reached a spring and stopped there to clean the game. It was a very hot day and the dogs were so tired that they did not stop at the spring, but hurried home to rest. When the dogs reached the house the woman asked them many times where their master was and what success he had. After she had repeated her questions many times, the male dog was forced to answer, "If I talk to you there will be great trouble." At these words a great wind began to blow. When the husband saw the sky grow dark he hurried home with the deer. Just as he arrived there the house vanished into a small lake.

THE AGUIO TALES

There were four brothers named Pomolau, Banklak, Aguio, and Lunak. They were great warriors who often went to other towns and killed many people just to show their bravery. The children of these towns they brought home and made their slaves. One time they decided to fight against Baklayan. So they sent a messenger to tell the people of that town that they were coming to fight. The challenge was accepted and the people of Baklayan prepared thousands for battle. Their leader was Suminung-gud. The four brothers and their followers conquered all the small towns on the way and caused such fear that many towns were opened to them. At last they arrived at Baklayan where a great battle took place. After a long fight

the brothers were defeated and were taken prisoners. When Imbakalak, the son of Banklak, who was born in the sky and was called "Heaven Son," heard that his father and uncles were captives, he gathered his people and went to Baklayan. When he arrived there he killed all the people in the town and set the four brothers free.

When Aguio was a little boy he refused to let his father fondle him, so his father drove him from home. He wandered about and became a famous warrior. Finally he was killed by his brother whom he did not know. His wife chewed *tinalad* and spit on him and he became alive again.

Bulanawan and his wife were walking along the sea shore when he became sleepy and lay down on a large flat rock. While he was sleeping Aguio came toward them in his war dress and with his knife. When he saw the woman he wished to steal her but he only asked her to give him some of her husband's betel nut. When she refused Aguio went toward her husband to fight him. The wife awakened Bulanawan and he sprang up ready to fight. He seized his wife and put her in his *taklobo* (the cuff of his sleeve)—for he had power. Aguio was very angry and they began to fight so furiously that their weapons were broken and the earth trembled. When the earth began to shake the brothers of the rivals were astonished and fearing that their brothers were in trouble they ran to find them. Aguio's brother, who was on the mountain, ran to look for him. Bulanawan's brother, who was in a far land, set out in a boat. They met at the place where the fight was going on and at once began to fight each other. Now the trembling of the earth increased until Lang-gona, father of Aguio, came and tried to make peace. The fighters did not wish to stop and when he insisted they all fell upon him. So great was the disturbance that the world was in danger of falling to pieces. At last Langoba-on, the father of Lang-gona, came and settled the trouble. Then he learned that the rivals were his grandsons.

Aguio once went to another land. When he had traveled several years he found himself out of provisions. To add to his troubles his enemies had united to defeat him. They wished to raid his town and to make the children slaves after the men were dead. He met his enemies and in several hours of fighting he succeeded in killing many of them. But at last he was so exhausted that he would have been killed had not his brothers come to his aid and turned defeat into victory.

While Aguio was wandering in another land he decided that he would stop fighting for he had already killed and captured many people. On his

way home he passed the town of Malonghau where he saw many boats made of gold and silver. He stopped a while to watch but the people paid no attention to him. He saw there his brother Lunak, who was kept in prison. He saw women preparing betel nut and the men making shields. The people said they were preparing to fight against Aguio's native town, for they did not want it to be stronger than their own. Aguio asked them about their prisoner and they replied that he would be starved to death. Aguio represented himself as a man of peace and tried to purchase his brother for a servant. The people refused, for they feared that he might return and avenge himself on them. Aguio told them that if they refused his request he would wish to have their children and wives. The men replied that they would not give them up for they loved them "as you love your parents." Aguio performed a ceremony and suddenly the wives and children vanished from sight. Then he went to the place where Lunak was imprisoned and set him free. After that the brothers fought against the men of the town and killed them all. Again Aguio made a ceremony and restored them to life, after which he made them his slaves. They served him for several years but finally he set them free and they became members of his town.

Once Aguio wandered along the sea coast until he was far from his own land. When he had walked a long way from his town he reached Bakalod on the plain of Gihobonan. There he saw the bones of people who had died because of the heat of the sun. He wandered on until he passed a plain called Oranan. So fierce was the heat of the sun that the lower part of his body became black. At that time rain was falling. Its drops were as large as big jars. He became very hungry and seeing a tower he went up into it. Upstairs there was a beautiful woman whose husband was not there. Aguio asked her for betel nut as a sign that he wished to marry her. She refused as she was already married. Because he was very tired Aguio went to sleep on the woman's leg. Soon her husband, Mansalgyom, came home and asked what ailed the man. His wife told him of Aguio's request, whereupon the husband became angry and tried to kill Aguio with his sword. He tried again and again but his sword bent double on Aguio's thick, tough skin. At last he took Aguio's own sword and plunged it into Aguio's breast and killed him.

XI. Conclusions

In any attempt to account for the peopling of Central and Southern Mindanao one natural route would seem to be northward from the Celebes and Halmahera into the channel afforded by Davao Gulf. Should this prove to be the main line of contact we might then expect such tribes as the Bagobo and Mandaya to present many similarities to the peoples of the islands as far south as Soembawa, Sumba, and Flores as well as to Celebes, Boeroe, Ternate, and Halmahera.

From the Gulf low mountain passes would afford access to Central Mindanao and thus would allow a flow of cultural materials as well as of population.

The most pertinent data (Kennedy, 1953; Keers, 1948; Lamster, 1929; the Sarasins, 1905) relating to the former Dutch Islands indicates a primitive aboriginal Negrito population. Following them came the Proto-Malays and finally the more typical Malayan peoples.

The Proto-Malays appear to have been carriers of a megalithic cult, suggesting a background related to Nias and the Batak of Sumatra. In Sadang in the Celebes, for instance, we encounter the village surrounding a plaza, with great memorial slabs raised in honor of the dead. The painted houses with saddle roofs, as described by Kennedy and Keers, are much like those of the Batak, while the hillsides are dotted with stone circles which, at ceremonial times, are sacrificial centers where buffaloes are offered. The use of golden ornaments by the nobles, coffin burials in caves, strong class distinctions—ranging from nobility to distinguished families, to freemen, to slaves—again suggest the customs on Nias and in Sumatra.

These early arriving Proto-Malays, such as the Sadang and Toradja, have been slowly driven back by the later comers—the more Mongoloid true Malaysans. Here we find such groups as the Buginese and Makassarese with highly developed political organization—with radja at the top and graded officers down to the *kapala kampung*, or village head. Here we often find strong suggestions of an early influence such as Menangkabau of Sumatra overlaid by Indian-type kingdoms, and ultimately by Madjapahit. These influences—physical, social and economic—weaken as we approach New Guinea. To the coastal people have come Islam and Christianity. All show the effects of Dutch overlordship and of Chinese traders.

In all the southern groups we find widespread traits of Malayan and Proto-Malayan culture, such as head-hunting, human sacrifice, the idea of multiple souls, mediumship and soul catching, the cutting of the umbilical cord with a bamboo knife, tooth filing, bride price and the Malayan forge. Certain traits and industries, shared by this area with parts of Borneo and Southern Mindanao, such as *ikat* or overtying of the warp thread before dyeing, the decorative elements of such work, the tie and dye (*bandana*), and the use of waste moulds in metal casting, give evidence of widespread diffusion.

Resemblances are many but when we isolate the distinctive characteristics of Proto-Malays and Malays of the southern islands and compare them with Java, Sumatra and Nias on one hand, and with Southern Mindanao on the other, it appears that their closest relationships are with Indonesia (Cole, 1913; 1945a). It seems unlikely that they contributed significantly either in population or culture to Mindanao. Likewise a comparison of the Davao Gulf tribes or the Bukidnon with available data on such tribes as the Kayan, Iban or Dusun of Borneo (Hose and McDougall, 1912; Evans, 1923, 1953; Cole, 1945a) does not lead us to consider them as the immediate sources of Central and Southern Mindanao cultures.

Turning now to a comparison of the Bukidnon with Garvan's account (Garvan, 1931) of the Manobo we again find likenesses of a general kind—those of the widespread Malayan pattern—but specifically the two peoples appear quite separate. Among the pagan tribes in Mindanao the closest ties appear to be with those of Davao Gulf. Even here the Bukidnon are quite distinctive. First and most striking is their dress. This is now a characteristic mark proclaiming adherence to Bukidnon traditions. The spirit world is within the Malayan tradition yet in its bewildering complexity is a decided variant. The *baylans* in most of their acts conform to the widespread idea of mediums, yet in no instance did we learn of spirit possession. Magic, while present, is of lesser importance than in most surrounding tribes. There are a few hints of human sacrifice and of head-hunting but these are not conclusive. When consideration is given to the ceremonies, to the priesthood, to multiple souls, soul wandering and capture, and to spirits of trees and plants, or when we give attention to rice culture, to metal working or to social organization, the Bukidnon ties seem closer to the late waves of Malayan invaders represented by such tribes as the Tinguian of Abra and the coastal Christianized peoples of the Philippines. It appears to us that in the Bukidnon we have many glimpses of a culture which once flourished along the northern coast of Mindanao among the people now known as Bisayan.

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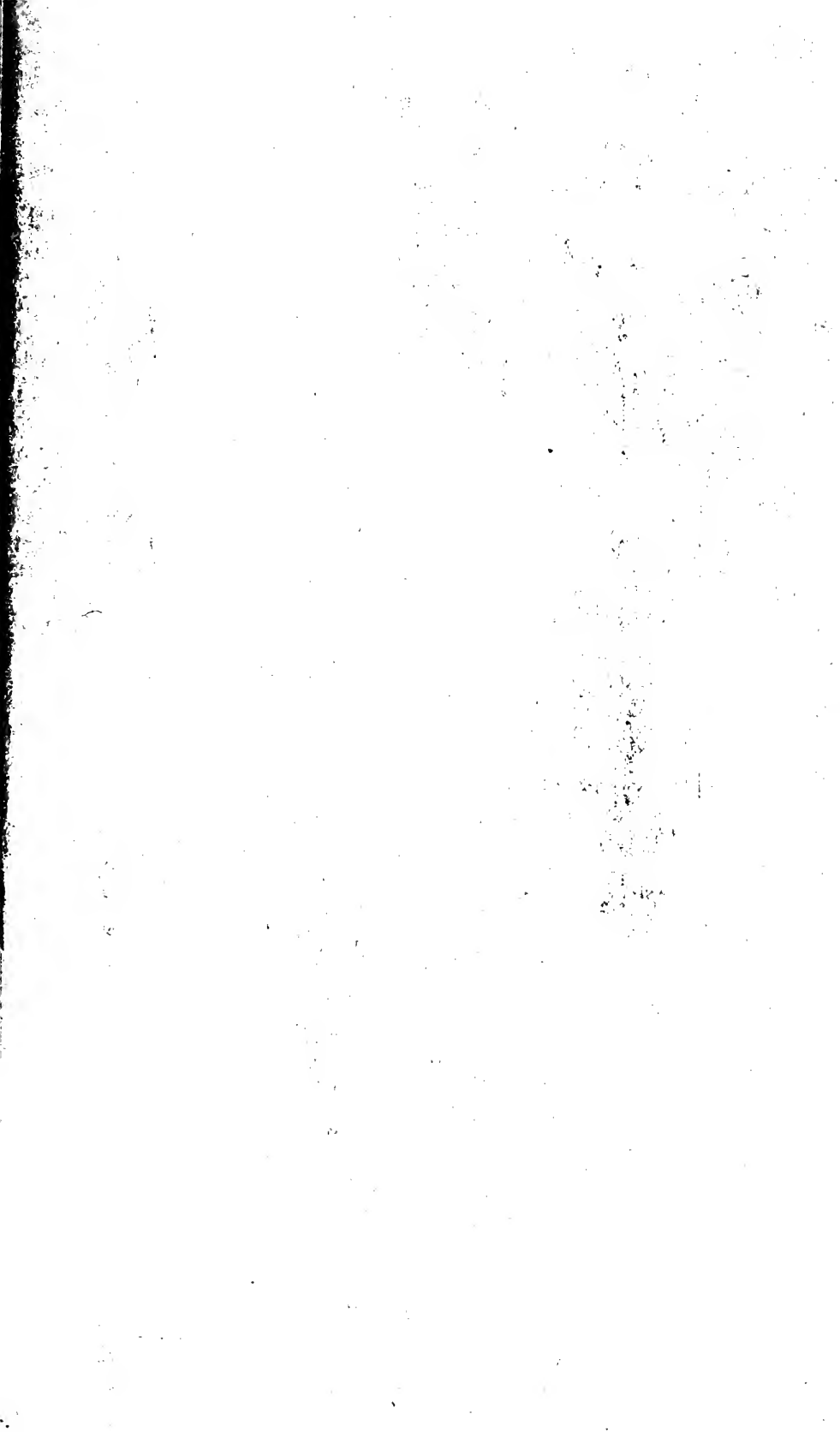
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